

# IMAGES OF LUCKNOW

ROSHAN TAQUI



**New Royal Book Co.  
Lucknow**



*All rights reserved, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means - electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher/author.*

## New Royal Book Co.

First Floor, Shah Trade Centre,  
32/16, Valmiki Marg, Lalbagh,  
Hazratganj, Lucknow- 226 001

Tel. : (0522) 2285607 (O) 2240644, 2248003 (R)

ISBN : 81-89267-04-3

Price - 495/-

Printed in India

---

Published by Imran Mirza, M.F. Beg for New Royal Book Co., First Floor, Shah Trade Centre, 32/16, Valmiki Marg, Lalbagh, Lucknow, Laser Typeset by Sunil Kumar Pandey, and Printed by Northern Offset Press, Lucknow.

## CONTENTS

<i>Foreward</i>	<i>Justice S.H.A Raza</i>	<i>i-ii</i>
<i>Prologue</i>	<i>Dr. Yogendra Narain, IAS</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Preface</i>	<i>Roshan Taqui</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>Acknowledgement</i>		<i>v-vi</i>
<i>Recommendations</i>	<i>1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> International Conferences</i>	<i>vii-viii</i>
1. Archaeological Sites and the Gazette of India	Dr. R.S. Fonia	1-9
2. First Census of Lucknow before first war of Independence	Roshan Taqui	10-38
3. Discovery of Lost Glory	Dr. Nayyar Masood	39-43
4. Dar-e-Daulat	Dr. M. Kaukab	44-58
5. The Queen Mother's Visit to England	Dr. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones	59-74
6. Period Photographs The Unpublished Pages of Avadh History	P. C. Little	75-79
7. Impact of The West in the Court of Avadh	Dr. P.K. Ghosh	80-88
8. Avadh on the Eve of 1857 Evidence of "The Urdu News Paper Tilism"	Dr. Iqbal Husain	89-100
9. Avadh on the Eve of Annexation	Roshan Taqui	101-110
10. Growth of Unani System of Medicine in Avadh	Dr. S. M. K. H. Hamadani	111-129
11. Administration of Avadh During the Period of Nawabs	Dr. S. N. Singh	130-132
12. Contribution of Nawabs to the Classical Music	Dr. Meena Kumari	133-136



13.	Dulari : The Consort of King Naseer-ud-din Haider	Dr. P.K. Ghosh	137-141
14.	Lucknow As I know it	Jafar Abdullah	142-147
15.	This Lucknow and That	Ratan Mani Lal	148-150
16.	Contribution of Courtesans in the Culture of Avadh	Dr. Manju Tripathi	151-154
17.	Need for Preservation of Islamic Calligraphy of Nawabi Buildings in Lucknow	S. Anwar Abbas	155-157
18.	Monument to Hunger	Roshan Taqui	158-161
19.	The First Queen and Third King of Avadh in Exile at Chunar	S. Anwar Abbas	162-166
20.	Conservation of the Imambaras: Search for a Solution	Neeta Das	167-172
21.	Stratification of Peasants in Avadh (1722-1856)	Dr. Hamid Afaq Qureshi	173-178
22.	Peasantry in Economic Distress During the Great Depression: The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (1900-1940)	S.P. Mishra	179-184
23.	Avadh 1856-1916: A Social, Political and Economic History		185-187
	<i>Bibliography</i>		188-192

**Justice  
Haider Abbass Raza**



Date : Nov. 25<sup>th</sup> 2000

## **FOREWORD**

The history of Avadh written by certain people does not provide the actual and realistic description of the economic and social life of the people and the events; such a debate has been going on for some time now. From the view point of making of reassessment of affairs of Avadh during the period of Nawabs and kings should be considered a welcome effort so as to place things in right perspective, but it is not to be confined to personalities. The economic and productive relationship of the people of the period in general and the relation of the Nawabs/Kings with declining power of the Moghal Empire, vis-à-vis the East India Company should be analysed with a scientific approach. Kudos to Roshan Taqui, who has taken the lead in this direction by organizing international seminars and conferences. It is really heartening that he is working overtime on preservation of Archaeological sites and monuments of Avadh and making earnest effort to enlighten the perception of the people regarding the contributions made by the earst-while rulers of Avadh to establish a non-doctrinaire, non-dogmatic and secular state. Time has come when justice should be done to former rulers of Avadh in their one hundred fifty years of rule and did not discriminate people on grounds of their religion, caste and creed.

The increasing interest of scholars from all over the world in the preservation of monuments and cultural heritage of Avadh, particularly Lucknow culture, has thrown new lights and the old perception of historians and writers about Avadh has undergone a change. It is heartening to note that in today's world of technology, the Lucknow culture has something to offer; its mannerism, etiquette, sweetness of its language will always interest the public.

(ii)

There are more than hundred odd monuments at Lucknow symbolising the last integrated culture of the world. These symbols of cultural heritage are to be protected, for which a movement is required. The cultural resources of this area are being eroded at an alarming rate. The buildings with beautiful architecture are losing their attraction due to irreparable damages. There is an urgent need of architectural conservation to prolong the life of these buildings. It is felt that conservation of historical monuments is now a shared responsibility. Specially in the case of Lucknow monuments public participation is as necessary as any thing else, for which an awareness campaign is required to be launched.

**Justic S. Haider Abbas Raza**

**YOGENDRA NARAIN**  
CHIEF SECRETARY



Ph. : Off : 2221599, 2238212  
Fax : 0522-2239283  
Government of Uttar Pradesh  
Secretariat Annexe Bhawan  
Lucknow-226001

## PROLOGUE

When I received the invitation letter of Roshan Taqui, Member Secretary of HARCA, two sentences attracted me very much. I want to read these lines in front of you. "The buildings, which were constructed in centuries have been decaying by negligence. Today when whole of the word is talking about preservation of cultural heritage, it is being vanishing in the city of yours because of the criminal negligence and unawareness of the citizens".

This is the reason that this seminar is being organized to create an awareness among the citizens and lovers of Lucknow. Once they are aware of their duty and responsibility, they will preserve the monuments and memorials of historical importance. Dr. S.C. Rai, the Mayor of Lucknow, a doctor by profession, has the duty to help maintain the world renowned culture. It is his duty and the duty of Nagar Nigam to maintain the culture and legacy of the city. Prof. Roop Rekha Verma, Vice chancellor, Lucknow University, is motivating the history department to patronise more and more research and investigation on the culture and tradition of Lucknow. She has always been maintaining to put forward the history of the common people of the society. Dr Ajay Shanker, Director General, ASI, is also here. This is his constitutional duty to preserve and protect all those old monuments and buildings in Lucknow. He must do all his best whatever he can. Sri Ajay Shanker belongs to Lucknow. He also taught History and Archaeology and loves history and culture of Lucknow. Therefore, through this book, it is hoped that a signal and an awareness of preservation of cultural heritage shall reach the citizens and they will be motivated and mobilised to protect and preserve this world famous culture.

**Dr. Yogendra Narain**



# HARCA

## Historical and Archaeological Research and Conservation Agency

---

*An NGO Committed to Protect the Cultural Heritage of  
Lucknow*

---

### PREFACE

Lucknow a city of grand and architecturally beautiful buildings, has been an important city since long. Populated on the banks of river Gomti, this city is famous for its "Last integrated culture of the world". Many historic monuments and old buildings attract tourists from different parts of the world. Though they carry home wonderful memories of the city, many return disillusioned and disappointed because they stand witness to those monuments, rich with historical heritage, existing but neglected, unattended and unprotected.

Lucknow was once famous as a city of gardens, such as Qaiser Bagh, Lal Bagh, Hazrat Bagh, Sikandar Bagh, Moosa Bagh, Nazar Bagh, Sunder Bagh, Char Bagh, Alam Bagh, Badshah Bagh, Dilkusha Bagh etc. But now, many of them lie barren or are converted to cement jungles, thus discolouring and changing the very face of Lucknow. Some of them are protected by A.S.I., while most of them await attention and protection and are open to all types of menace-especially due to the unscrupulous deeds of the anti-social elements, who are hell-bent on defacing the originality of the monuments, for their vested interests.

Thus, preservation of these buildings is the need of the present hour. A call for the preservation of these monuments, a regulation from the government, awareness of public for conservation in right perspective and curbs on the activities of anti-social elements are some of the objectives that should be focused upon.

As a first step, two international conferences have been organized to aware the people of their social responsibilities and also to include the historians and conservation experts of world repute with this movement. During these two conferences, 27 papers on different topics were presented. These papers are being published in this book "Lucknow Images". Hope this will serve the very first purpose of this movement.

**Roshan Taqui**  
**Member Secretary**  
**HARCA**



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. Dr. S. Nayyar Masood      Professor Department of Persian,  
Lucknow University
2. Dr. M. Kaukab              Professor Department of Urdu,  
Aligarh Muslim University,  
Aligarh
3. Dr. Rosie Llewlin Jones      Prof. South Bank University,  
London (U.K.)
4. Sri. P.C. Little              (Retd.) Head, Department of  
Commercial Art, Faculty of Fine  
Arts, Lucknow University, Lucknow
5. Dr. P. K. Ghosh              Professor, Department of Medieval  
History, Lucknow University  
Lucknow
6. Dr. Iqbal Husain              Professor, Department of Medieval  
History, Aligarh Muslim University,  
Aligarh
7. Er. Roshan Taqui              Deputy Director, State Human  
Resource Development Cell,  
Lucknow
8. Sri. S. Anwar Abbas              Columnist, Hindustan Times,  
Lucknow
9. Dr. S. M. K. H. Hamadani      (Retd.) Professor and Head  
Department of Adwia Tibbiya  
College, Aligarh Muslim University,  
Aligarh
10. Dr. S. N. Singh              Professor, Department of Public  
Administration, Lucknow  
University, Lucknow
11. Dr. Meena Kumari              Department of Music, Dayal Bagh  
University, Agra
12. Nawab Jafar Abdulla              Royal family of Avadh and direct  
descendent of Hakim Mehdi Ali  
Khan of Avadh



- |                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| 13. Sri Ratan Mani Lal | Formerly Editor of Lucknow Times and now Director, Mass Communication, Jaipuria Institute, Lucknow   |
| 14. Dr. Manju Tripathi | Lecturer in Christian College, Lucknow   |
| 15. Ms. Neeta Das      | Architect and consultant working in Integral University, Lucknow   |
| 16. Sri S.P. Misra     | Department of Economics, Lucknow University, Lucknow   |
| 17. Dr. H.A. Qureshi   | Jt. Secretary, U.P. History Congress, 1985-88 & Member Executive Committees of South Indian History Congress (1988) & U.P. History Congress (1989) |

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The two International Conferences on conservation, recommended the following points:

1. Bara Imambara is a marvelous building of Medieval period and requires immediate world attention for its preservation. Therefore, this international conference of HARCA requests UNESCO to declare this Imambara the world heritage building for its proper care and preservation.
2. HARCA should enlist the world renowned conservation experts to provide important world level advice to the caretakers of the old buildings of Lucknow on a minimum possible service charges.
3. The Europe office of HARCA should be opened at Sweden as soon as possible.
4. The directory of monuments with the visible restoration works should be prepared for preparing the feasibility report.
5. A committee with the name "Lucknow heritage watch" should be formed including historians, conservationists, engineers and social activists to take action on the recommendations of International Conferences.
6. A memorandum of understanding should be signed with the NLRC- The National Laboratory for Research and Conservation, to Carry on technical research works involving the civil engineers and scientist of this particular field .
7. Preservation of culture has to be done. Let us sit and hold one month Workshop on how to initiate government participation taking the example of Russia and Dubai. After August revolution the king Czar and his family were killed and all the royalties were demolished. People Republic of Secular Soviet Russia had been declared. Everybody did hate to the monarchy but they preserved each and every thing of that period, the palace, the buildings, the furnitures and each and every thing.
8. Attention please Mayor Lucknow, Vice Chairman LDA, and Chief Town Planner-the colonies, which are being developed in Lucknow, must be named after the personalities of this city. Gomti Nagar must be named after its original name-Ujriyaon and its blocks must be named like Raja Jia Lal khand, Rana Beni Madho khand, Mir Taqi Mir Khand, Hazrat Mahal Khand.

9. Government of Uttar Pradesh should recognise HARCA as the monitoring body in case of History of Avadh. HARCA should see that there is no distortion of History of Avadh.
10. Arrangements with the British Council be made for making the record and material of India Office Library at London available for study and reproduction to the research scholars through HARCA.
11. Suggest and ask the ASI and State Archaeological Department to revise their list of protected monuments in Avadh and particularly at Lucknow by identifying and adding many important monuments (e.g. Imambara of Mughal Sahab – the best example of stucco art) to their list of protected monuments, enabling their protection and conservation.
12. There are a number of papers and important documents in different Bastis of Chief Court (now High court) and State Archeology, which should be published. It will help a lot in writing a true history of Avadh.
13. (i) A tourist map of Avadh should be prepared with pocket size guides and be placed at every tourist place spot.  
(ii) There is no tourist spot near the Monuments, except one or two. They must be near every monument.  
(iii) Keep an eye on the maintenance work at Imambaras and other monuments.
14. Roads and lanes should be named after the Late warriors, soldiers and Nawabs of Avadh.
15. The building of La-Martineir (Boys) College is age old and should be preserved by some N.G.O. or community. HARCA should take initiation in this respect.
16. The heritage zone of Hussainabad, Lucknow should be speedily preserved and developed.
17. The participants showed their deep concern about the cultural devaluation of Avadh and hence a seminar should be organized for the preservation of the same.

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND THE GAZETTE OF INDIA

R.S. Fonia

**The Gazette of India July 4-1992/ASA D-H-A-13-1914  
(Part II- Sec.3 (ii))**

**Department of Culture  
(Archaeological Survey of India)  
New Delhi, the 16<sup>th</sup> June 1992  
(Archaeology)**

S.O. 1764- Whereas by the notification of the Government of India in the Department of Culture, Archaeological Survey of India No. S.O. 1447 dated the 15<sup>th</sup> May 1991, published in the Gazette of India Part II, section 3 sub section (ii) dated the 25<sup>th</sup> May, 1991, the Central Government gave one month's notice of its intention to declare means upto hundred metres from the protected limits and further beyond it upto 200 metres near or adjoining protected monuments to be prohibited and regulated areas respectively for purposes of both mining operation and construction.

And whereas the said Gazette was made available to the public on the 5<sup>th</sup> June 1991;

And whereas objection to the making of such declaration received from the person interested in the said areas have been considered by the Central Government.

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by rule 12 of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological sites and Remains rule 1959, the Central Government hereby declares the said areas to be prohibited and regulated means. This shall be in addition to and not in any way prejudica the similar declarations already made in respect of monuments at Fatehpur Sikri, Mahabalipuram, Golkonda

Fort, Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh); Thousand Pillared Temple, Hannakonda District Warrangla, (Andhra Pradesh); Sher Shah's Tomb Sasaram (Bihar); Rock Edict of Ashoka Kophal, District Raichur (Karnataka); Fort Wall, Bijapur (Karnataka); Gomukta Waram Statue District Hassan (Karnataka); Elephanta Caves, District Colaba (Maharashtra).

(No. F - 8-2-90 M)

M.C. Joshi

Director General

**List of Monuments, declared protected under ASI**

Sr.	Location of Monument	Type of Monument	Gazette No. and date
1	2	3	4
1.	Lucknow District (U.P.) Arjunpur and, Rukhara Mounds covered with bricks		(i) U.P., 1465/ 1133-M 25-11-1920 (ii) UP, 166911133-M- 27-12-1920 Edlands 101, 14-1-1924
2.	Bargawan	Cemetery	(i) UP, 1412-M-18-11-1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133- 27-12-1990 Edlands 101 14-01-1924
3.	Jahraila Road	Cemeteries	-do-
4.		Amjad Ali Shah's Mausoleum	(i) UP, 724-M/367 14/30.7.1919 (ii) UP, 1442-M/367, 27.11.1919
5.		Bibiapur House	(i) UP, 222 - M/924 15-2-1917 (ii) UP, 448/924, 5.4.1917
6.		British Cemetery at Chiria Jhil	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920

Contd...

1	2	3	4
7.	Lucknow	Buildings, north west of Dilkusha Palace	(ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 'Edlands' 101 14.1.1924
8.			(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920
9.			(ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920
10.		Cemetery at Alambagh	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920
11.		Cemetery at Dilkusha	(ii) Up, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920
12.			'Edlands' 101-11.1.1924
13.			-do-
14.		Cemetery at Gaughat	-do-
15.		Cemetery near Qaiser Pasand	-do-
16.		Cemetery near Fort Machhi Bhawan	-do-
17.		Cemetery in Raja Incha Singh Compound	-do-
18.		Cemetery on La-martiniere Road	-do-
19.		Cemetery at Vilayati Bagh	-do-
20.		Dargah Hazrat Abbas	(i) UP, 1038-367 1.6.1910
21.		Karbala Dianut-ud- daula	(ii) UP, 1287-367-M 15.7.1910
22.			(i) UP, 900/367 5.5.1910

Contd...

1	2	3	4
18.	Lucknow	General Wali Kothi	(ii) UP, 1283-367-M 15.7.1910 -do-
19.		Ibrahim Chisti's Tomb	(i) UP, 193 M- 367 9.2.1911 (ii) UP, 699-M/367 18.5.1911
20.		Imambara Amin-ud- daula	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920
21.		Imambara of Asif-ud- daula	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M 18.11.1920
22.		Jama Masjid near Husainabad	-do-
23.		Qaiser Bagh Gates	-do-
24.		Kallan-ki-lat and adjoining cemetery in Faquir Mohammad Khan Ka Hata	-do- 'Edlands' 101 14.1.1924
25.		Karbala of Tal Katora	(i) UP, 114-M/367-48 25.1.1916 (ii) UP, 381 M/367-18 24.3.1916
26.		Kazmain Buildings	(i) UP, 808-367-M 3.5.1910 (ii) UP, 1530-M/367 31.8.1910

Contd...

1	2	3	4
27.	Lucknow	Karbala Malka Jahan	(i) UP, 724-M/367 14/30.3.1919 (ii) UP, 1442-M-367 27.11.1919
28.		Masjid connected with Asif- ud-daula	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/367 2.12.1920
29.		Monuments of ninety third High landers	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/367 2.12.1920
30.		Nadan Mahal	(i) UP, 899-M/367 03.05.1910 (ii) UP, 1279-367-M 15.07.1990
31.		Karbala Naseer-ud- din Haider in Daliganj	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.02.1920
32.		Neil's Gate	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920
33.		Old Palace at Dilkusha	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920
34.		Picture Gallery Husainabad	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920
35.		Baradari Residency Building	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920

Contd...



1	2	3	4
36.	Lucknow	Rumi Darwaza	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920
37.		Sapper's Tomb	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920 'Edlands' 101 14.01.1924
38.		Sikandar Bagh Building	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920
39.		Sikchawali Kothi	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920 'Edlands' 2323 24.11.1925
40.		Tahsin Ali's Mosque	(i) UP, 724-M/367 14/30.05.1919 (ii) UP, 1442-M/367 27.11.1919
41.		Tomb of Gazi-ud-din Haider	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920
42.		Tomb of Janab Aliya	(i) UP, 1926-M/367/76 2/13.10.1920 (ii) UP, 2755-M/367-76 26.09.1921
43.		Tomb Known as Char Khamba	(i) UP, 194-M/367 09.02.1911 (ii) UP, 703-M/367 18.05.1911

Contd...

1	2	3	4
44.	Lucknow	Tomb at Lotan Bagh	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1913 'Edlands' 101 14.01.1924
45.		Tomb of Mohammad Ali Shah	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920
46.		Tomb of Musabagh	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920 'Edlands' 101 14.01.1924
47.		Tomb of Murshid Zadi, Wife of Saadat Ali Khan	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920
48.		Tomb of Saadat Ali Khan	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920
49.		Two cemeteries	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920 'Edlands' 101 14.01.1924
50.		Victoria Memorial	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920 'Edlands' 101 14.01.1924

Contd...

1	2	3	4
51.	Lucknow Faizabad Road at miles 3 and 5	Three Tombs	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920 'Edlands' 101 14.01.1924
52.	Lucknow Faizabad Road at mile 43	Two Cemeteries	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920 'Edlands' 101 14.01.1924
53.	Lucknow-Kanpur Road at mile 13	Cemeteries	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920 'Edlands' 101 14.01.1924
54.	Lucknow-Rai Bareli Road at mile 6	Cemetery	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920 'Edlands' 101 14.01.1924
55.	Marion (Maryaon)	Cemetery	(i) UP, 1412-M 18.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1645-M/1133 22.12.1920 'Edlands' 101 14.01.1924
56.	Mohibullapur	Memorial pillar marking the site of the pre- mutiny Residency in the old Mariaon Cantonment	(i) UP, 478-MS/NT-55-1934 14.08.1934 (ii) UP, 569-MS/55 25.09.1934

Contd...

1	2	3	4
57.	Nagram	Mound	(i) UP, 1465/1133-M 25.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1669/1133-M 27.12.1920 'Edlands, 101, 14.01.1920
58.	Paharnagar	Mound	(i) UP, 1465/1133-M 25.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1669/1133-M 27.12.1920 'Edlands, 101, 14.01.1920
59.	Thakuria	Mound	(i) UP, 1465/1133-M 25.11.1920 (ii) UP, 1669/1133-M 27.12.1920 'Edlands, 101, 14.01.1920
60.	Tikait Ganj	Bridge over the Beta river and temple attached to it	(i) UP, 565-M/367-46 3/10.05.1917 (ii) UP, 749-M/367-46 02.07.1917

List of Monuments under the state Archeology, Government of Uttar Pradesh.

1. Alambagh Bhawan\*
2. Lal Baradari
3. Badi Chhatar Manzil
4. Kothi Farhat Baksh
5. Kothi Raushan-ud-duala
6. Hulas Khera-Mohan Lal Ganj, Tehsil
7. Dahisar Ka Tila



\* This is kothi Alam Ara, in whose name the area was named as Alambagh.

## FIRST CENSUS OF LUCKNOW BEFORE FIRST WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Roshan Taqui

The first ever order for Census survey of Lucknow had been passed by Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, the sixth Nawab Wazir of Avadh (1798–1814), who had also ordered the mapping of the city. John Wombwell in association with Claude Martin, a French Engineer, had been assigned this job. Unfortunately, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan died in 1814 A.D. and the job could not be completed. Due to political instability, no administrator could get time for grass root level survey and mapping of Lucknow. The planning and budget of the State had only been based on cultivation and small scale industries.

As Delhi had lost approbation, the population of Lucknow had been increasing at a fast pace due to influx of people from different places. Governor General Lord Hastings visited Lucknow in the year 1818, during the regime of Nawab Ghaziuddin Haider and, at the time of returning, he wrote on the Royal Register:

“The Marquis also assures the Nawab of his unqualified approbation and satisfaction at witnessing the high state of cultivation in which he found the country as well as its increased populousness and at the happiness and comfort of all his Excellency’s subjects”.

The word increased populousness itself clears that the population of Lucknow had been increasing day by day before the first war of independence of 1857. The basic problem before us is the assessment of population of Lucknow city on the eve of annexation. The census survey before the first war of independence had been carried out in 1856 and published in the Newspaper “Tilism Lucknow” in a series. “Tilism Lucknow” was a weekly paper printed at Mohammadi Press, Firangi Mahal, and published by its Editor Mohammad Yaqoob of Firangi Mahal. This series of Lucknow Census had been started from Friday 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1857 and published till end on Friday 1<sup>st</sup> May 1857, in six consecutive numbers.

Friday	20 <sup>th</sup> March 1857
Friday	27 <sup>th</sup> March 1857
Friday	10 <sup>th</sup> April 1857
Friday	17 <sup>th</sup> April 1857
Friday	24 <sup>th</sup> April 1857
Friday	1 <sup>st</sup> May 1857

There had been one Kotwali at Chowk and Thanas at Daulatganj, Haiderganj, Ambarganj, Wazirganj and Chini Bazar. The survey had been carried out for number of houses in different localities under a particular Thana or Kotwali with the status of people living in. Number of Night-watchmen attached to those localities has also been mentioned. Though the population has not been given in the published report; but it can easily be calculated and given in column No.-5. The palacial residences of Bankers, Wealthy persons, Royal Servants and kins of Royal families contained not less than 10 persons while houses of poor and prosperous families contained approximately 5 heads. Therefore, on an average, 8 persons per house is justified for the calculation of population. Using this formula, the population of each locality has been calculated. This way the population of Lucknow city comes out to be 6,43,240. The floating population, like moving traders, business men coming from outstation and staying here for a month or so, the labourers, military personnel and foreigners, have not been added to it. If this population, which was not less than 50,000 is added to this calculated number, the population of Lucknow city before the First War of Independence in 1857 was not less than 7,00,000.

**List of No. of Houses, No. of Policemen and Night-Watchmen  
under Kotwali, city-Lucknow**

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watch men	No. of houses	Popu-lation	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Korhia Ghat	5	236	1888	3 Wealthy, rest poor	Persons of all faiths.
2	Bagghi Tola	2	50	400	All Mahajans	Bankers
3	Bajpai Tola Kalan	2	64	512	Wealthy	Brahmin, Rajput, Kayastha

*Contd..*

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watch men	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	Pholhai Mandi	4	153	1224	Half Rich Half Poor	Persons of all faiths.
5	Bajpai Tola Khurd	3	46	368	Rich	Brahmin
6	Kagzi Mohalla	3	65	520	Prosperous	Persons of all faiths.
7	Ahata Suraiya Begum	3	61	488	Prosperous and poor	Persons of all faiths.
8	Ahata Bachhraj	3	43	344	Rich Muslims	Hindu &
9	Panyari Tola	8	54	432	Rich (Bankers)	Mahajan
10	Mirza ki Mandi	8	132	1056	Rich (Bankers)	Mahajan
11	Nal Darwaza	3	171	1368	Rich and Mahajans.	Kins of Nawabs
12	Chakla	3	183	1464	Mahajan	Wholesale Merchants
13	Farsh Jagannath	3	55	440	Rich (Bankers)	Mahajan
14	Sarangi Tola	3	95	760	Rich (Bankers)	Mahajan
15	Pul Rajaram	3	49	392	Prosperous	Persons of all faiths.
16	Sankri Tola	2	100	800	Prosperous	Persons of all faiths.
17	Soni Tola	3	24	192	Prosperous	Persons of all faiths.
18	Darzi ki Baghiya	3	133	1064	Poor	Persons of all faiths.

Contd..

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watch men	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19	Sondhi Tola	5	238	1904	Rich & Mahajan	Persons of all faiths.
20	Kalman Tola	3	51	408	Prosperous	Persons of all faiths.
21	Makkoo Tola	3	34	272	Prosperous & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
22	Poyain ki Gali	3	75	600	Prosperous & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
23	Johri Tola	3	50	400	Mahajan	Bankers
24	Makki Tola	2	48	384	Mahajan & Rich	Kayastha
25	Katari Tola	2	81	648	Rich & Prosperous	Persons of all faiths.
26	Jhavanyee Tola	3	469	3752	Rich & Poor Muslims	Hindu &
27	Moughal Pura	2	13	104	Wealthy	Muslims
28	Surajya mukhi Baghiya	2	49	392	Wealthy & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
29	Sabzi Mandi	3	68	544	Rich (Bankers)	Mahajan
30	Bahmani Tola	3	26	208	Middle level Muslim	Hindu &
31	Chobdari Mohalla	2	94	752	Poor & Rich	Persons of all faith
32	Ahata Mohammad Khan	2	81	648	Rich & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
33	Ahata Baqi Beg	2	44	352	Poor & Rich Muslims	Hindu &
34	Mahmood Nagar	2	77	616	Middle Level & Rajputs	Muslims

Contd..



S1. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watch men	No. of houses	Popu-lation	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35	Ahata Gokul Chand	3	24	192	Wealthy & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
36	Lal Mahal ki Mandi	4	200	1600	Mahajan & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
37	Naqqar Khana	4	253	2024	Small businessmen	Bania, etc.
38	Jilo Khana	3	77	616	Wealthy	Royal Houses
39	Shekhan Darwaza	3	154	1232	Mahajan	Brahmin
40	Chandi Bazar	4	275	2200	Mahajan	Brahmin
41	Sarrafa	3	109	872	Mahajan	Brahmin
42	Chowk	7	637	5096	Traders	Hindu & Muslims
43	Takiya Kallu Shah	4	75	600	Prosperous & Rich	Hindu & Muslims
44	Nakhas	3	172	1376	Wealthy, Govt. Servants	Persons of all faiths.
45	Kashmiri Mohalla	3	68	544	Traders, Wealthy & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
46	Khokhi Tola	2	38	304	Rich & Poor	Hindu & Muslims
47	Katra Meer Haji	2	61	488	Businessmen	Hindu & Muslims
48	Sarai Garhi Ki	2	29	232	Motel Owners	Hindu & Muslims
49	Teela Aqab Nakhas	3	25	200	Middle level	Govt. Servants
50	Katra Doosi Beg	3	34	272	Wealthy & Poor	Persons of all faiths.

Contd..

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watch men	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6.	7
51	Katra Syed Husain Khan	3	79	632	Middle level	Kashmirites & Brahmin
52	Banjari Tola	3	223	1784	Mixed population	Persons of all faiths.
53	Ghazi ki Mandi	3	86	688	Prosperous	Kayasthas
54	Beach ki Sarai	3	76	608	Rich & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
55	Shah Chhara ki Gali	3	141	1128	Rich Prostitutes	-
56	Thanwari Tola	3	86	688	Wealthy & poor	Persons of all faiths.
57	Thawai Tola	3	58	464	Wealthy & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
58	Dalali Tola	3	61	488	Rich Prostitutes & Middle men.	-
59	Firangi Mahal	3	180	1440	Rich & Poor	Muslims
60	Parchey Wali Gali	3	87	696	Wealthy & Poor	Hindus & Muslims
61	Chiri Mar Tola	3	20	160	Poor	Persons of all faiths.
62	Pata Nala	2	179	1432	Rich & Poor	Muslims
63	Darbari Tola	2	26	208	Rich & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
64	Zira Sazi Mohalla	2	35	280	Rich & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
65	Imambara Agha Baqar	4	108	864	Middle Level	Muslims

Contd..

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watch men	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
66	Pichhwara Imambara	2	196	1568	Wealthy & Poor	Hindus & Muslims
67	Door Wali Gali	2	21	168	Poor	Hindus & Muslims
68	Johri Mohalla	3	267	2136	Wealthy & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
69	Gharhyali Mandi	2	134	1072	Wealthy & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
70	Farashi Tola	4	21	168	Wealthy & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
71	Dariba	2	81	648	Rich & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
72	Chowk Qadeem	3	13	104	Rich	Persons of all faiths.
73	Katra Dost Mohammad Khan	3	36	288	Rich & Wealthy	Persons of all faiths.
74	Thatheri Tola	3	69	552	Rich & Wealthy	Persons of all faiths.
75	Chori Tola	2	168	1344	Rich & Wealthy	Persons of all faiths.
76	Meena Bazar	3	184	1472	Rich & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
77	Madaini Tola	3	38	304	Rich & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
78	Katra Hasan Bagh	3	363	2904	Wealthy	Kins of Royal Family
79	Ahata Ramzan Ali khan	5	24	192	Rich & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
80	Kothi Ghat	3	167	1336	Prosperous & poor	Persons of all faiths.

Contd..

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watch men	No. of houses	Popu-lation	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
81	Tila Shah Peer Mohammad	3	163	1304	Rich & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
82	Taksal	3	47	376	Wealthy & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
83	Lachhman Bazar	3	54	432	Wealthy & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
84	Ahata Salar Jang	3	81	648	Rich	Kins of Royal Family
84	Total (A)	259	9015	72120		

**List of Mohallas (Localities) and Night Watchmen, etc. under  
Thana Daulatganj, City Lucknow**

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Popu-lation	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Zargari Tola	2	786	6288	Two wealthy, rest poor	Persons of all faiths.
2	Gaind Khana	2	102	816	Wealthy & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
3	Moti Masjid	2	204	1632	One wealthy, rest Poor.	Persons of all faiths.
4	Purwa Mohani Qadeem	2	249	1992	Wealthy & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
5	Purwa Fateh Ali Kaptan	2	82	656	Five wealthy, rest poor	Persons of all faiths.
6	Gaind Khana Jadeed	2	76	608	Six wealthy, rest poor	Persons of all faiths.
7	Shiv Puri	4	276	2208	Twelve wealthy, rest poor	Hindus

*Contd..*

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33	Bahmani Tola	2	30	240	Wealthy & Poor	Brahmans
34	Nagariya	3	495	3960	Twelve wealthy, rest Poor	Persons of all faiths.
35	Mohalla Kayasthan	2	169	1352	Wealthy & Poor	Kayasthas
36	Baghia Nai (Barber)	2	7	56	Rich	Prostitutes & Brahmans
37	Chamari Tola	2	38	304	Wealthy & Poor	Chamar
38	Baraf Khana	2	142	1136	Wealthy & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
39	Lodhan Tola	2	59	472	Three wealthy, rest poor	Lodhies
40	Baghia Misri	2	34	272	One third prosperous, two third poor.	Persons of all faiths.
41	Mashooq Ganj	2	137	1096	Fifteen wealthy, rest Poor	Persons of all faiths.
41	Total (B)	124	5702	45616		

**List of Mohallas (Localities) and Night-Watchmen, etc. under  
Thana Haidarganj Qadeem, City Lucknow**

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Haidarganj	9	1336	10688	Rich and Poor	Kayasthas, Brahmin, Buqqal, Rastogi, Khatri.
2	Tikaitganj	5	552	4416	Rich more, Poor rare	Kayasthas, Brahmins.
3	Raushan	5	223	1784	Rich and Poor	Muslims and Buqqals
4	Nanda Khera	2	67	536	Rich and Poor	Muslims, Aheer and Lodh
5	Jarnailganj	2	97	776	Rich and Poor	Muslims and Buqqals
6	Imamganj.	2	83	664	Rich & Poor	Muslims, Baqqals, Lodh
7	Daryapur Karbala Nawab Imdad Husain Khan	2	17	136	Rich and Poor	Pasi, Lodh,
8	Talab Tikait Rai	5	129	1032	Two Rich, rest Poor	Muslims, Mondhe wale
9	Muttassil Satila (Shitla Mandir)	2	141	1128	Rich and Poor	Muslim, Brahmin, Buqqal
10	Mehdi Ganj	3	463	3704	Rich and Poor	Muslim, Brahmin, Buqqal and Kayasthas

*Contd..*

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	Bhawaniganj	4	273	2184	Rich and Poor	Muslim, Brahmin, Buqqal and Kayasthas
12	Tirminiganj	2	163	1304	Rich and Poor	Muslim, Brahmin, Buqqal and Kayasthas
13	Naubasta	5	475	3800	Rich and Poor	Muslim, Brahmin, Buqqal, Kayasthas
14	Ashrafabad	6	811	6488	Rich and Poor	Rastogi, Buqqal, Kayasthas, Muslims
15	Shahganj	2	440	3520	Rich and Poor	Buqqal, Khatri, Muslims
16	Ahata Sanki Beg	2	70	560	Rich and Poor	Buqqal, Muslims
17	Katra Mir Azam	2	140	1120	Rich and Poor	Muslims, Buqqals, Agarwal, Brahmin
18	Bilochpura	4	219	1752	Rich and Poor	Muslims and Butchers
19	Sarai Agha Mir	8	155	1240	Rich and Poor	Muslims, Bhatyare, Buqqals
20	Bhadewan	8	537	4296	Rich	Muslims, Rajput, Brahmins, Buqqals
21	Bazar Khala	8	273	2184	Rich and Poor	Muslims, Kayasthas, Buqqals, Brahmins
21	Total (c)	88	6664	53312		

**List of Mohallas (Localities) and Night-Watchmen, etc. under  
Thana Ambarganj, City Lucknow**

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Ambarganj	5	234	1872	Prosperous and Poor	Persons of all faiths.
2	Mahboobganj	4	264	2112	Prosperous and Poor	Persons of all faiths.
3	Bagh Gulshan	4	64	512	Prosperous and Poor	Persons of all faiths.
4	Bhawan Gorkain	-	39	312	Prosperous and Poor	Hindus
5	Purwa Lonia	-	9	72	Poor	Hindus
6	Basti Wazir Bagh	8	247	1976	Prosperous and Poor	Persons of all faiths.
7	Salar Bagh	2	73	584	Poor	Hindus
8	Tikri	4	81	648	Prosperous and Poor	Persons of all faiths.
9	Garhi Peer Khan	5	466	3728	Prosperous and Poor	Persons of all faiths.
10	Mali Tola	-	48	384	Poor	Hindus
11	Lodha Purwa	-	20	160	Poor	Muslims & Hindus
12	Pasand Bagh	-	15	120	Poor and Prosperous	Persons of all faiths.
13	Jatwari Tola	-	127	1016	Poor and Wealthy	Muslims and Hindus
14	Ahata Gurudas Mal	2	89	712	Poor	Muslims and Hindus

Contd..



Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	Kareem Ganj	3	200	1600	Poor and Prosperous	Muslims and Hindus
16	Rajab Ganj	3	171	1368	Poor and Prosperous	Muslims and Hindus
17	Jarnail Ganj	2	109	872	Poor and Prosperous	Muslims and Hindus
18	Balak Ganj	2	157	1256	Poor and Prosperous	Muslims and Hindus
19	Sarfaraz Ganj	2	23	184	Poor and Prosperous	Muslims and Hindus
20	Moazzam Nagar	4	248	1984	Poor and Prosperous	Muslims and Hindus
21	Mohalla Johiyan	-	18	144	Poor and Prosperous	Hindus
22	Lain Ganj	5	320	2560	Poor and Prosperous	Persons of all faiths.
23	Ram Nagar	4	359	2872	Poor and Prosperous	Persons of all faiths.
24	Khatri Mohalla	4	30	240	Rich	Hindus
25	Chobi Tola	-	14	112	Rich	Hindus
26	Faiz Ali Ganj	-	20	160	Prosperous and Poor	Persons of all faiths.
27	Chah Arharho	-	20	160	Prosperous and Poor	Persons of all faiths.
28	Kishwar Ganj	8	171	1368	Prosperous and Poor	Persons of all faiths.
29	Haider Ganj	4	445	3560	Prosperous and Poor	Persons of all faiths.
29	Total (D)	75	4081	32648		

**List of Mohallas (Localities) and Night-Watchmen, etc. under  
Thana Wazirganj, City Lucknow**

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Popu-lation	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Wazirganj	5	290	2320	Two Rich, Sixty Middle Level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
2	Gausganj	5	138	1104	Two Rich, Ten Prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
3	Farash khana	5	42	336	One rich, Twenty prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
4	Ahata Malka Jahan	2	113	904	One Prosperous, Rest poor	Persons of all faiths
5	Ahata Khansama	2	66	528	Two Prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
6	Basti Fazil	2	59	472	One rich, Ten prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
7	Mashakganj	2	354	2823	One Rich, Hundred Prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
8	Khatri Mohalla	2	102	816	Twenty Five prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths

*Contd..*

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	Tazi Khana	2	297	2376	Two Rich, Sixty Prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
10	Ahata Durga Prasad	2	67	536	Two Rich, Ten Prosperous, Rest Poor	Hindus
11	Astabal	2	139	1112	Twenty Prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
12	Punjabi tola	2	75	600	Ten Prosperous, Rest Poor	Punjabis
13	Rastogi Tola	2	186	1488	Fifty Prosperous, Rest Poor	Rastogis
14	Begum Ganj	2	419	3352	Two Rich, Hundred Prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
15	Bagh Qazi	3	52	416	One rich, Twenty Prosperous, Rest Poor	Muslims
16	Katra Abu Turab	2	315	2520	Four Rich, Hundred Prosperous, Rest Poor	Muslims

Contd..

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17	Bagh Makka	2	176	1408	Twenty Prosperous, Rest Poor	Muslims
18	Sohbatia Bagh	2	153	1224	Five Prosperous, Rest Poor	Muslims
19	Madarsa Tikait Rai	2	79	632	Twenty Prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
20	Raja Ki Bazar	2	135	1080	Six Rich, Fifteen Prosperous, Rest Poor	Hindus
21	Pata Nala	5	239	1912	Two Rich, Hundred Prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
22	Deorhi Agha Mir	2	177	1416	One Rich, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
23	Chhachi Kuan	2	227	1816	Four Rich Hundred Prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
24	Thatheri Tola	2	64	512	Twenty Two Prosperous, Rest poor	Persons of all faiths
25	Bawarchi Tola	2	111	888	One Rich, Fifty Prosperous, Rest Poor	Muslims

Contd..

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	Peer Ghaib	-	33	264	Four prosperous, Rest Poor	Muslims
27	Garhiya chowdhary	-	67	536	Six Rich, Twenty Five Prosperous, Rest poor	Persons of all faiths
28	Chobdari Mohalla Kalan	2	102	816	20 Prosperous, Rest poor	Persons of all faiths
29	Barood Khana	2	35	280	One Prosperous, Rest poor	Muslims
30	Nabahra	2	81	648	One Rich, 20 Prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
31	Inami Tola and Takia Ghulam Shah	2	185	1480	Fifty Prosperous, Rest Poor	Muslims
32	Unchi Mandi Mir And Neechi Mandi	2	128	1024	Sixty Prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
33	Sabeel Qaim Ali	2	49	392	Fifteen Prosperous, Rest Poor	Muslims
34	Thatheri Bazar	2	11	88	Poor	Persons of all faiths
35	Chhipi Tola	2	29	232	Nine middle level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths

Contd..

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36	Syed Wari Tola	2	31	248	One middle level, Rest Poor	Muslims
37	Maidani Tola	2	180	1440	Fifty Six Middle level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
38	Kamnagri Tola	2	13	104	Four Middle level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
39	Mawali Tola	2	39	312	Ten middle level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
40	Dariba Janab Ganj	2	185	1480	Two Rich, Seventy middle level, rest poor	Muslims
41	Pach Mahla	2	178	1424	Two Rich, Ninety middle level, Rest Poor	Muslims
42	Naqqarchi Tola	2	100	800	Thirty middle level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
43	Hasan Bagh	2	90	720	Three Rich, Forty Middle level, Rest Poor	Muslims
44	Ahata Shaidyan	2	133	1064	Ten middle level, Rest Poor	Muslims

Contd..

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45	Chobdari Mohalla Khurd	2	39	312	Two Middle Level, Rest Poor	Muslims
46	Soot Hati Wa Bazar Barkhala	2	214	1712	Hundred Middle level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
47	Shutur Khana	2	228	1824	Hundred middle level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
48	Makanya Tola Wa Hata Dulare	2	200	1600	Fifty Middle level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
49	Ahata Misri Khan	2	219	1752	Twenty Five Middle Level, Rest Poor	Muslims
50	Baghaichi Pooran	2	26	208	Five Middle Level, Rest Poor	Hindus
51	Mallahi Tola Wa Barwari Tola	2	173	1384	Three Rich, Fifty Middle Level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
52	Bazar Ismailganj Wa Ahata	-	542	4336	Three Rich, Two Hundred Middle. Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
53	Bazar Azam Ali	2	249	1992	Three Rich, Hundred Middle Level, Rest Poor	Muslims

Contd..

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54	Baroon-e-Ismailganj	2	41	328	Two Rich, Ten Middle Level, Rest Poor	Muslims
55	Basti Yaqoot Khan	2	277	2216	One Rich, Seventy Middle Level, Rest Poor	Muslims
56	Deorhi Bazar	2	98	784	Four Rich, Twenty Middle Level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
57	Pul Aahini	5	56	448	Two Rich, Twenty Five Middle Level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
58	Sooraj Kund	5	250	2000	Three Rich, Two Middle Level, Rest Poor	Hindus
59	Bazar Kaptan	5	87	696	Two Rich, Fifteen Prosperous, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
60	Lain Sahab Ka Ahata	4	81	648	One Rich, Two Prosperous, Rest Poor	Muslims

Contd..



Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
61	Baghiya Tabqaba	2	89	712	Poor	Muslims
62	Koocha Lakhan	2	129	1032	Three Rich, Five Middle Level, Rest Poor	Hindus
63	Darul Shafa	2	37	296	Five Rich, Fifty Middle Level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
64	Chatai Mohalla	-	149	1192	Four Rich, Fifty Middle level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
65	Buland Bagh	2	73	584	Poor	Muslims
66	Ahata Shaidi Munir	2	41	328	Five Middle Level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
67	Jungliganj	2	71	568	Fifteen, Middle level, Rest Poor	Hindus
68	Golaganj	2	95	760	Four Rich, Two hundred Middle level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
69	Pul Jhaoo Lal, Talab Kalan	3	70	560	Two Rich, Fifteen Middle Level, Rest Poor	Hindus
70	Maqbara Janabe Aliya	3	89	712	Poor	Mughals

Contd..

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
71	Basti Nao (New)	2	51	408	Two Rich, Twenty Five Middle Level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
72	Murgh Khana	2	60	480	Sixteen Middle Level, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
73	Bagh Molvi Anwar	2	191	1528	Fifty Middle level, Rest Poor	Muslims
73	Total (E)	164	9669	77352		

**List of Mohallas (Localities) and Night-Watchmen, etc. under  
Thana Chini Bazar, City Lucknow**

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 (5) No	Peer Jaleel, Ahata Gori Bibi, Ahata Mian Mahoob, Isai Tola, Ahata James Martin	5	500	4000	Rich & Poor	Persons of all faiths.
2 (1)	Bazar Jhao Lal	4	700	5600	Some Rich, Rest Poor	Persons of all faiths
3 (4) No	Naya Gaon, Ahata Mirza Zulfi, Baraf Khana, Ahata Meer Niyaz Husain	2	4500	36000	Rich & Poor	Muslims & Hindus

*Contd..*

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4 (7) Nos	Khayali Ganj, Ahata Munnu Khan, Zamboorak Khana, Baghia Charan Das, Astabal Mirza Azeem Beg, Ghasiyari Mandi, Ahata Khwaja Badshah	2	4000	32000	Rich & Poor	Muslims & Hindus
5 (6) Nos	Rakabganj, Garhiya Ramzan Beg, Ahata Agha Turab, Gao Khana Lal Bagh, Tope Khana, Azam Ali Beg	2	2000	16000	Rich & Poor	Muslims & Hindus
6 (8) Nos	Ahata Safdarjung, Maqboolgunj, Shutur Khana, Chhitwapur, Ahata Lakhoo, Chhawani Dulhan, Tilpura	2	3500	28000	Rich & Poor	Muslims & Hindus
7 (5) Nos	Ganeshganj, Til Purwa, Naka Hindola, Ahata Malori, Ahata Munshi Jwala Prasad	3	2600	20800	Rich & Poor	Muslims & Hindus
8 (4) Nos	Jungli Ganj, Amaniganj, Aminabad, Bhus Mandi	4	1500	12000	Rich & Poor	Muslims & Hindus

Contd..

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night Watchmen	No. of houses	Popu-lation	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9 (12) Nos	Mohalla Memaran, Sultangunj, Mohalla Karhi, Ahata Bansī Das, Ahata Mohsin-ud-Daula, Ahata Daya Ram, Ahata Tilpurwa, Husain Baksh, Ahata Maflahan, Lakar Mandi, Ahata Ahiran, Ahata Ghosiyan	4	3000	24000	Rich & Poor	Muslims & Hindus
10 (3) Nos	Ahata Nawab Jafar Ali Khan, Purwa Mirza, Ahata Aaran Darogha	2	2000	16000	Rich & Poor	Muslims & Hindus
11 (4) Nos	Ahata Murtuza Khan, Ahata Gurdeen Singh, Ahata Sheikh Masood, Sabzi Lane	-	400	3200	Rich & Poor	Muslims & Hindu
12 (4) Nos	Purwa Nawab-ud-Daula, Narahi, Bagh Puran Darogha, Tirbedi ganj	3	2500	20000	Rich & Poor	Muslims & Hindus
13 (5) Nos	Ahata Jafar Ali Khan Wa Jalalu Wa Maduka Malka Ahad, Hazartganj, Astabal Chauparh	5	600	4800	More Rich less poor	Muslims & Hindus

Contd..

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Popu-lation	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14 (8) Nos	Nawab Kothi Hayat Baksh, Danka Khana, Nawab Kala Tehkhana, Nawab Shafa Khana, Takia Gharhyali Shah, Basheerganj, Baraf Khana, Ahata Jahangeer Beg	2	3000	24000	More Rich less poor	Muslim and Hindus
15 (13) Nos	Qandhari Bazar, Lane Mendu Khan, Ahata Doem Agha Turab, Ahata Bhagwan Das, Ahata Rath Khana, Bagh Mir Londoni, Sarai Mendu Khan, Maqbara Amjad Ali Shah, Ahata Jafar Ali Khan, Ahata Mumtaz-ud-daula, Ahata Chaihai Shah, Ahata Kothi Noor Baksh, Ahata Kothi Zahoor Baksh	5	5000	40000	More Rich less poor	Muslims and Hindus
16 (10) Nos	Husain Ganj, Purwa Ghosiyani, Til Purwa, Ahata Ghani Khan, Ahata Shah Khan, Ahata Agha Turab, Ahata Qadir Buksh, Purwa Bashir-ud-daula, Kethan Tola, Bagh Gulam Husain	6	4000	32000	Rich and Poor	Muslims and Hindus
17 (6) Nos	Talab Gagni Shukul, Ahata Malka Gaiti, Khandaq Bairooni, Masjid Ghulam, Ganesh Bari, Ahata Malka Ahad	2	3000	24000	Rich and Poor	Muslims and Hindus

Contd..

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18 (15) Nos	Paltan Ghat, Chiraiya Jheel, Moti Mahal, Kothi Mirza, Kothi Khursheed Manzil, Kothi Astro Manager, Astabal Shahi, Lane Raja Bakhtawar Singh, Shah Najaf, Sikandar Bagh Lane, Baldah, Aspatal.... Kothi Tara, Kothi. Lane Haji Sharif, Ramna Shahi	10	600	4800	Royal Family of Avadh	Now Captured by Britishers
19 (10) Nos	Latkan Darwaza, Terhi Kothi, Belli Guard, Kothi Ghulami, Ahata Munne Khan Memar, Ahata Azam Ali Beg, Jhulkhana Seekhche wala, Payeen Bagh	4	700	5600	Rich person	Company Officers and Indians
20	Phulail ganj	-	125	1000	Rich	Firangi and Indians
21	Chini Bazar	2	101	808	Rich	Firangi and Indians
22	Khas Bazar	2	364	2912	Rich	More gentlemen less Bad-mashan
23	Machhi Bazar	2	284	2272	-	More gentlemen less Bad-mashan
24	Ardali Bazar	-	300	2400	-	More gentlemen less Bad-mashan
135 Nos	Total (F)	73	45274	362192		

**List of Mohallas (Localities) and Night Watchmen, etc. under  
Kotwali and Five Thanas of City Lucknow**

Sl. No.	Name of Locality	No. of Night-Watchmen	No. of houses	Population	Status	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Grand Total (A + B + C + D + E + F)	783	80405	643240		No of localities (Mohalla)
2	Add Floating Population, business class, labourers, military personnel and foreigners			50000		
	Grand Total			693240		383
	Say .			7 Lacs		
	The Population of Lucknow city Before 1857, 1st War of Independence			7 Lacs		383

□□□

## DISCOVERY OF LOST GLORY

Nayyar Masood

Before the talk of preservation of Historical Monuments of Lucknow, the description of destruction of this city by the English is necessary. After the war of 1857, they started demolition and without exaggeration, hundreds of inhabited localities (mohallas) and thousands of grand buildings had been razed to the ground. This act of demolition was, however, started before the beginning of war (1857), when the area around residency had been cleared by the British for the unhindered movement of their army.

According to Kamal uddin Haider, sensing the war clouds looming large, the British Officers in Machchi Bhawan demolished the buildings nearby, and then in the periphery of Residency....

**"Destroyed all the buildings seen even at distance"**

(Qaiser-ut-Tawareekh Vol. II, p. 10)

After the end of war, the act of systematic demolition had been started. One pro-English Historian Munshi Mendi Lal stated that after the British control,

**"All of a sudden city demolition started. Typical type of excavators were they. The those Madrasi men, negro faced, any type of walled construction and high rise building was excavated by them in three attacks; even the foundation. Regiment after regiment came and razed to the ground the houses of famous and popular persons using bull dozers."**

(Naunga known as Maharba-e-ghadar)

According to Munshi Kalka Prasad Naheef:

**"What more would be mentioned about the destruction of the city, that it was a paradise on earth, which is now worse than hell, deserted every where and a city of silence. Thousands of palaces and worthy buildings came under axe."**

(Rangeen bazaar-o-insha-e-Naheef)



There were so thick clouds of dust due to razing down the buildings that it was difficult for the people to move around. After a short period of time, the map of the city had been so much changed due to disappearance of buildings, vanishing of localities (mohallas) and construction of new roads, that even the old citizens felt difficulty in reaching their well trodden destination.

Even in the poetry of Lucknow poets, this destruction had plenteous place. Imdad Ali Bahar a famous poet rhymed.....

*Lut Gaye Bashindgane Lucknow ghar khud gaye  
Khak udate hain bagoole Khana-e-Barbad ke.*

[The citizens of Lucknow are looted their houses excavated, winds are blowing dust storm of (those) destroyed premises]

Late Dina Nath alias Husain Baksh 'wajib' said in his poem....

"Shahon ke Mahal gada ke ghar khudte hain,  
Darveshon ke atqia ke ghar khedte hain,  
Bande ka makan khuda to kya wajib  
Andher yeh hai khuda ke ghar khudte hain"

[The palaces of Kings (and) beggars houses are excavated. The houses of saints and preachers are excavated, If my house has been razed to the ground so what, the houses of God have not been spared.]

"Ameer Minai" the famous poet wrote these lines:

*"Ghar khudne ki poochcho na museebat hum se,  
Roti hai lipat lipat ke hasrat hum se,  
Ya hum jate the ghar se rukhsat ho kar,  
Ya ghar hota hai aaj rukhsat hum se,"*

[Don't ask from me the problem of house demolition, Desire weeps embracing us, Either we were going to leave the house, or house is going leaving us behind.]

Mir Moonis told:

*Hua ghar bhi Azakhana bhi barbaad  
Rahi baaqi mohalle ki na buniyad.*

[Not only residence but Imambara is also destroyed, the existence of locality is no more.]

Syed Mohammed Wazir (son of Mufti Mir Abbas) has written this couplet:

*Masjiden khudti hain mutlaq bhi nahin jai Namaz,  
Hazrat Isa hain ab parwardigar-e-Lucknow,  
Woh sadak par gard udti hai ke khaliq ki panah,  
Kor kar de chashme bina ko ghubar-e-Lucknow.*

[Mosques were razed to the ground, there is no room for prayer. Now Christ is the God of Lucknow. Oh God, there are so dense clouds of dust on the roads that would blind the sight of eyes.]

This statement is also found at several places that three fourth of city had been razed to the ground during this action. 'Qalaq' Lucknowi rhymed this:

*Teen Hisse se siwa shahar khuda paya tamam,  
Jis taraf dekho nazar ata hai ek hoo ka muqam.*

[More than three fourth of the city has been found excavated. There is only desolation seen every where.]

The calculation is simple. Half of the city became hunt of vengeance and one fourth the part of the roads, which were constructed in different parts of the city. A few names of localities are also found in the demolished area. For instance, Azmat Ali Kakorivi told:

"From near Aminabad to Shah Najaf and Beleguard (Residency) to Roomi Gate, there was only desert like open land — all the houses in low lying areas were razed and the area made a dump. Half of the city of this area had been turned into rubbles and dust till July/ August 1858 A.D. The huge Dargahs (tombs) of Shah Mina and Shah Peer Mohammad etc. came under axe."

(Muraqqa-e-Khusrovi, p. 576)

Kamal uddin Haider, the famous Historian of the royal period says:

"Right from the Residency to Dilkusha wide road has been constructed after clearing the debris....Fifteen hundred feet around the fort (Machchi Bhawan), ground has been leveled. Two roads from there are much widened.... (Asifi) Imambara to Husainabad, all the houses and great localities fell under the radius of Fort. Panch Mahala,

Sangi Mahal, Hasan Manzil, etc and other grand buildings, which came under 1500 feet radius of Fort, have been razed to the ground. Imambara Hasan Raza Khan, Masjid..... bulldozed to the ground level. Only tomb of Shah Mina left in Meena Bazar. Other older graves passed into the radius of fort. Imambara Agha Baqar Khan demolished and leveled.....houses existed within the radius of fort in trans-Gomti area were also razed to the ground.

(Qaiser-ut-Tawareekh, Vol. II, p. 354)

Hakeem Mohammed Kazim has written these lines in his autobiography:

"There would have been no house left in the west and north of city. All the main markets Ardali Bazar, Khayali Ganj, Ismailganj, Golaganj, Sitahti, Nabahra, Meena Bazar, Makaniya Tola, Shekhan Darwaza, Kaghzi Tola, Chandni Bazar, Thatheri Bazar, Johri Bazar, etc. have been demolished and levelled. The grand palaces of Haider Bagh and Machchi Bhawan, Kothi of Lala Gulzari Mal Khazanchi (cashier), Panch Mahala and other beautiful buildings, which were constructed in lacs of rupees and all the royal palaces, excepting one or two were razed. In short, two third of the city was demolished and one third was left, thousands of houses leveled in the construction of wide roads in this area."

(Auto-biography)

Kamal uddin Haider has found out some Constructive traits in these destructions:

"By widening of roads and razing down the mohallas, one can say, the city is wide open. The intensity of epidemic is also no more."

(Quiser-ut-tawarikh, Vol. II, p. 355)

Anyway, people, who had seen the thickly populated Lucknow of the royal period, termed this open city as desert.

Most of the names of localities and buildings obliterated with the vanished historical sites, however, a few are left. Some of the photographs are also available. Some of the monuments like Chhatar Manzil, Chota Imambara, Asifi Imambara and Roomi Gate etc. are still existing in their shapes, but most of the other monuments are in a dilapidated condition; for example Satkhanda, Jama Masjid, Tomb of Hakeem Mehdi, Naubat Khana of Asifi Imambara, Darshan Bilas, Chhoti Chhatar Manzil and so on.

Concerted efforts are needed to preserve and maintain these buildings by the people who know better about it. These are very expensive affairs. I think, it will be better to estimate the expenditure of maintenance of these buildings. There are rich people not only in India but in other countries also, who are interested in preservation and to donate generously for the cause. They are to be requested either individually or as a group to shoulder the responsibility of expenditure of Conservation of these monuments. There are also a few International Agencies, which give fund to preserve the historical sites and monuments. Such agencies may also be approached.

Some of the buildings are in a very dilapidated condition and its renovation is not possible, but the remains of walls and doors, minarets and stucco works tell about its original grandeur. Now 3D Pictures of these buildings can be created using latest soft wares on computers. Old, particularly British, artists and Photographers, have painted a number of photographs of buildings of the Lucknow. These include photographs of those buildings also which are no more. These photographs can also be made more lively with the help of the computer. The lively and beautiful photographs of not only the king's palace of Qaisar Bagh but of whole of the Qaisar Bagh, Lakhi Darwaza, Machhi Bhawan, Shekhan darwaza, Panch Mahala, Begum Kothi etc. can emerge before us with a small time attention and expense.

Those photographs can not only be architected in the same and old building fashion but short sized and beautiful models of these buildings can be made using wood, plaster and other materials. A city's map on earth has been made and placed in the residency in which ordinary models of several buildings were fixed. Making the old city on earth and fixing authentically made models of buildings on its proper places, we can also discover once again the Lost Lucknow of Yester years.



## DAR-E DAULAT

M. Kaukab

Dar-e Daulat literally means gateway to wealth. It is a Persian term generally used in Urdu to denote courteously the address of a notable person. Another complimentary Persian term is **Daulat Khana** meaning the house of wealth. These two terms need not be necessarily applicable to particular places but, in the context of the history of Lucknow, these terms, by long usage of course, acquired a significance of their own by pin-pointing the palace of their feudal lord, the Nawab Vazir, and its main gate, the fountain head of all opulence and honours to his vassals. Daulat Khana also became a proper name in due course, leaving no doubt the place designated by this name. But where, if at all, was this Dar-e Daulat? And what happened to it?

An enquiry of this nature leads to the source material in Urdu as even the latest very learned work in English just stops short of informing us that after the Daulat Khana of Asif ud daulah, Farah Bukhsh of Sa'adat Ali Khan became:

And that:

*"... the Lal Baradari (so called from the dark red paint employed over the stucco to imitate red sand stone) which had been the grand darbar hall of Saadat Ali Khan, but which became the Throne Room and Coronation Hall of Ghazi-ud-din Haider." AFF p.187*

was a part of the Farah Bakhsh complex. The enquiry for Dar-e Daulat, therefore, narrows down to a place in the vicinity of Lal Baradari (or Painted House of Lt. W. Morsoom).

The assumption is further strengthened by this anecdote:

*"When Mirza Bolaqi, son-in-law of the emperor of Delhi, and Mirza Kochak Sultan, son of Bahadur Shah, arrived (in the reign of Mirza Birjees Qudr) they were lodged in Chhatar Manzil but their residence close to Dar-e Daulat was viewed with apprehension generally as the regal seat was within easy reach of resourceful ambitious persons."*

QT p. 214 - TR 1

For zeroing in on the exact location of Dar-e Daulat, the published English works are not satisfactory as the mighty conquerors, who launched three major military campaigns (in Sept. 1857, November 1857 and March 1858) and left for posterity a confusing mass of material with charts, photographs, maps, memoirs and diaries, did not mention at all by name a silent sentinel that had witnessed all this and more while there is hardly any contemporary account of those times in Urdu, which does not refer to some momentous events of Oudh's history without reference to Dar-e Daulat somewhere in the background. No excuse is, therefore, due to quoting translations of some pertinent portions in Urdu for all they are worth; but first, a rendition of one patriotic poetic account of Lucknow's historic buildings, which goes to show that at least the name Dar-e Daulat survived the ravages of time till early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Moulvi Syed Aulad Husain Shair Lucknowi, a respected religious preacher and a poet of considerable merit, who died a septuagenarian in 1956, had the good fortune of seeing people, who had seen the brief bloody reign of Mirza Birjees Qudr. In one of his prize winning poems, published in 1929, he invites the Rain Clouds to come and:

"See the grave of Asif-ud-daulah and his Hall of Mourning".

The Chatar Manzil is a club now. See the change from good to bad.

*"See also Dilkusha, so heart-warming once, so heart-broken now.*

*The dusty winds sweeping Dar-e Daulat relate how it's laid waste.*

*If you still wish to see more to add to your woes.*

*What of flowers, there is not even their fragrance in Qaiserbagh."*

There is a footnote to all the proper names above. The one underlying Dar-e Daulat points out:

"The royal palaces have all been dug out but a gate by this name is still there near the bridge close to Moti Mahal." SG p. 35, TR 2.

Taking this unchallenged statement as a working premise, it is necessary to refer to other available evidence to see if the facts conform to the name ascribed to it.

The very first point that negates this premise is a contemporary account of Dar-e Daulat's conspicuous top:

"The British gunners were such expert marksmen that they could spy out a target on mere sound. On one occasion they fired a shell so accurately that the hand of a black statue on the top of Dar-e Daulat was blown up." QT p.289, TR3

There is no statue now on the top of the so called Dar-e Daulat.

The gate, as it stands today in its forlorn state in the south west corner of Hazrat Mahal Park, had adjoining walls that cordoned it off from Ramna-e Shahi (Palace Garden) and Hiran Khana (Dear Park), subsequently called Dooly Square by Maj. Gubbins as the doalies (litters) carrying the wounded soldiers of Gen. Havelock's Relief Force were abandoned here. The walls that effectively checked the progress of Havelock's army causing great sufferance to them in this part and the ones running parallel to those walls to mark off the interior of the palaces are no longer there. A quotation from Dr. Rosie Llewellyn Jones seems apt in explaining the present landscape:

"... the courtyards and passageways that stood between the Qaiserbagh and the Chatter Manzil disappeared, with the exception of the Sher Darwaza, or Lion Gate, which had an emotive significance for the British because one of the officers of the relieving force in March 1858 died under the gateway."  
- AFF p.195.

The learned scholar has somehow erred by giving us a wrong date, by not giving us the name of the officer and by stating that he died under the gateway. The records can be put straight to some extent by referring to the inscription on the memorial tablet far enough from the Sher Darwaza. It reads:

DLVCE ET. DECORVM EST  
PRO PATRIA MORI\*

-o-

THIS TABLET  
MARKS THE SPOT WHERE  
TOWARDS THE EVENING OF 25<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER  
1857 A.D.

GENERAL NEILL  
FELL MORTALLY WOUNDED  
BY A SHOT FIRED FROM THE TOP  
OF THE ADJACENT GATEWAY

\*It is sweet. It is befitting to die for the country.

It is possible to reconcile the two apparently inconsistent statements by arguing that Gen. Neill, when mortally wounded, was brought under the protective shelter of the gateway, where he ultimately breathed his last.

What is puzzling, however, is the assertion that it was "a shot fired from the top of the adjacent gateway", and the absence of any report on the part of sufferers that after occupying the "adjacent gateway" they scaled its walls to liquidate the enemy. The gateway is not high enough and has no battlements, now at least, to cover the defenders. The Qaiserbagh or the Chhatar Manzil complex was not built to withstand the onslaught of a military action. Even the ill-equipped rabble of Padshah Bagum could reduce.

"Dar-e Daulat to a condition worse than the Garhi (fortress) of a zamindar." Fl p.13, TR 4

The native eye-witness accounts of the skirmishes on September, 25 are not very correlative but even then the tidbits of information that can be gathered from them prove useful in reconstructing the battle scene. We are thus not told as to why the Relief Force, instead of following its chartered route to the Residency via Sher Darwaza, turned towards Qaiserbagh.

"When the white soldiers come in front of Dar-e Daulat, their artillery pieces fired a shell thrice to cause a breach in the wall of Jaloo Khana. Conviction then gripped the mates that they would now enter Qaiserbagh." - QT p. 270, TR 5.

This vengeful action was obviously precipitated by the tragic end of their distinguished General:

"The Najeeds faced the fury with great determination but they were all massacred. One officer was killed near Dar-e Daulat. In short, everywhere, in all palaces, fierce fighting was going on and white solders coming from the side of Ramna-e Shahi had penetrated into the interior of the palaces. This was on September 25, 1857." - QT p.269 - TR 6.

In a frenzy of killing, the defenders, right and left, a detachment of the Relief Force stormed the bastion, where the guns, that had killed General Neill, were active in creating further havoc by raining shells and musket-balls on the invaders:

"Attacking from behind, the white soldiers got hold of the cannon. There were two artillery pieces at Dar-e Daulat." -QT p.269. TR 7.



Close on dusk, with their mission completed, this Task Force together with its support column, busy in scaring the defenders away, retreated to fall in line with the main body quietly marching towards the Residency under cover of darkness. It is necessary to remember here that all this bloodshed took place around Dar-e Daulat in the western wing of Qaiserbagh. The Relief Force was too small to remain in occupation of the area surrounding Dar-e Daulat; and even though they managed to enter the Residency with heavy casualties, they became besieged there for a couple of months.

The correspondent reporting the capture of guns does not elaborate as to what the white soldiers did to the guns. A subsequent report:

"At 9 a.m. Nawab Sharaf ud daulah (a minister in the cabinet of Mirza Birjees Quadr) got down on one side of Dar-e Daulat and had an artillery piece brought there while the white soldiers had one on their side. They both started bombarding each other." -QT p.272 - TR 8.

It makes the assumption reasonable that those guns were spiked to render them useless. Otherwise, why was a field piece specially requisitioned to face the sorties coming out of the Residency? Concentration of forces on both sides in front of Dar-e Daulat became of normal feature of warfare for a few weeks:

"There were pieces of artillery at appointed places which became active and the army and the officers thronged at Dar-e Daulat." -QT p.330 - TR 9.

General Havelock's army consolidated its position between Dar-e Daulat and the Gomti river by erecting screens for a safer up and down corridor for Sir Colin Campbell's stronger force between November 14 to 16, 1857. It was preparation for a grand finale in March, 1858 when Dar-e Daulat was destined to have its last bloodbath.

Quite a few more relevant passages from contemporary native accounts and newspapers can be cited to show that this Dar-e Daulat, strategically placed, was more a nerve centre of military and courtly activity than the famed Chaulakhi Gate. But to cut the story short, the ones already given should suffice.

Putting down the so called revolt with an iron hand, the administrators at Lucknow proposed:

"There ought to be some place which the mutineers may recognise and point to as the monument of their own crime and our retribution." AFF p. 193.

And the decision-makers at Calcutta ordained:

"As to the buildings in Lucknow, the only one that I think it might be well to level to the ground is the "Kaiser Baug" as that is the palace where our chief enemies have resided during the rebellion and whence they have issued their proclamations and orders against us." AFF p. 194

The decision appears monstrous to us today but it was carried out in stages over a period of years with healing touches and a lot of brain washing to let people see that it was just and befitting when it was in fact most barbarous and devastating. Quite naturally, we come across Dar-e Daulat again in this atrocious trail of destruction.

In early 1860s, the dust of demolition in front of Sher Darwaza had not fully settled and the policy of Her Most Exalted and Just Queen Empress of India fully crystallized when we find another native account giving the Dar-e Daulat episode a new twist. The writer, anxious to please his English benefactors, is rather circumspect in describing the topography of Qaiser Bagh but his narrative reveals more than it conceals:

"..... There is a Juloo Khana (on the western side) like the one that has been described on the eastern side. Passing through this and going right under the block of buildings above, we reach the periphery of Qaiser Bagh facing Sher Darwaza. This Sher Darwaza is also called Neill Darwaza Because it was here under this gate that Gen. Neill was killed by a shell fired by the guns at the gate of Qaiser Bagh." NA p.150 TR 10.

This deliberate omission of even a hint of Dar-e Daulat beyond Juloo Khana when we know from excerpts quoted a short while earlier that this very same Juloo Khana was the blood-soaked area on September 25, singles out the writer as a hostile witness, who knew that one could not reach the periphery of Qaiser Bagh without crossing the threshold of Dar-e Daulat but did not mention it for understandable reasons. Subjecting this deposition, therefore, to some cross examination, the questions that arise are as follows. Answers, to the best of my knowledge, are appended to the questions respectively so that the two may be studied together for better understanding:

1.Q. Was there any other gate beside Dar-e Daulat facing Sher Darwaza and having a clear gunners view upto the memorial Tablet?

A. None, as it had to be high enough to avoid a solid mass of masonry to reach the desired spot and shoot down a rider.

2.Q. Was the name of that gate of Qaiser Bagh, i.e. Dar-e Daulat, known to the writer?

A. Yes, he knew it long before even Qaiser Bagh was built:

"Despite the orders of the Resident, Padshah Begum accompanying Munna Jan, reached Dar-e Daulat with a strong body of armed militia at midnight. Capt. James Paton was advised to issue strict orders to the guards of the Outer Gate to admit no one without permission .... But to no avail, as they ignoring all resistance and injuring Capt. Paton in the melee, let the elephant charge flatten the doors to enter the Royal Palace, as if it was their own house." NA p.104 TR 11

The doors were definitely replaced subsequently as we note another assault on this gate two decades later when the officers of the Task Force on September 25, finding the doors stronger than the adjoining decorative wall, smashed the wall to force a speedy entry.

The Sher Darwaza is not high enough to let an elephant with howda and chhatri pass through it, and it had no door worth its name in 1857 to check any entry. It could not, therefore, be the Dar-e Daulat. A generation later people who broadly knew the locale of Dar-e Daulat and finding no Dar-e Daulat but a gateway there fondly started giving an exalted name to a modest structure.

3.Q. "The guns at the gate of Qaiser Bagh" is a vague and indefinite expression. Does it mean artillery pieces at the ground level or those higher up at the gate scanning the skyline?

A. In view of the statement that Gen. Neill was killed under the gate, the ground level theory seems more plausible but the Memorial Tablet marks out "the top of the adjacent gate" for the starting point of the trajectory; and the British gunners blowing up a hand of the black statue at the top of Dar-e Daulat, all combine to give a different version. The British gunners were not on any parade ground demonstrating their skill. They obviously tried to prevent some activity at the top of Dar-e

Daulat targeted their leader in particular and left an indelible mark in history.

4Q. How could a name Neill Darwaza gain currency so fast as to find general acceptance in place of an authentic appropriate name Sher Darwaza more suitable for the entrance of Royal Wildlife Park?

A. Like Maj. Gubbins Dooly Square, this name Neill Darwaza is also of English origin. The writer feeling elated at being the mouthpiece of his English masters has floated this name Neill Darwaza with great alacrity; while the masters by removing those marble lions and destroying the Hiran Khana only strengthened the belief that it was only Neill Darwaza and nothing else. Dr. R.L. Jones informs us (without a footnote) that those marble lions were

“moved to Government House but subsequently lost.” (AFF p.144).

5.Q. Though Sher Darwaza can also be regarded a gate of Qaiser Bagh, what prevented the writer to name Sher Darwaza explicitly while delineating the origin of the fatal shell? If he had a viewpoint different from that of the author of the Memorial Tablet, are not these two statements inconsistent?

A. The Archeological Survey can enlighten us better as to when and why and by whom the Memorial Tablet and the Sher Darwaza were declared ‘Protected Monuments’; but presumably, the policy of the government was in a fluid state when the book *Nadirul Asr* was hurriedly completed for presentation to a departing British officer. Its author recorded an equivocal statement while the official version on the Memorial Tablet is also no less equivocal as a shot even if fired from the top of Dar-e Daulat could be constructed as one coming from the top of the opposite lower edifice, i.e. Sher Darwaza. It is not possible to argue convincingly at this point of time whether the shot from the top of the Sher Darwaza was a planted story as a shot to kill Neill had to come from somewhere and as Dar-e Daulat was already destroyed (or its destruction contemplated), Sher Darwaza was preserved to lend credence to the story and Dar-e Daulat so well obliterated that even its memory is fading away. The non-existence of any circumstantial

evidence that anyone rushed to the top of the Sher Darwaza to find the killers of Gen. Neill or killing anybody then and there leads one to only one conclusion that the shot was not fired from the top of the adjacent gate but some other gate, which was instantly and desperately stormed.

6.Q. How is it that the writer who knew the name of Dar-e Daulat and also knew that the fatal shot was fired by one of its guns, did not specifically state this?

A. The affected naivete of the writer in not spelling out the name of the gate is not without reasons. Dar-e Daulat was very likely demolished when this account was written. Secondly, the writer has no desire to incur the displeasure of his benefactors by making the ignorant wiser. The very name Dar-e Daulat was so repugnant to their taste that they did not utter it once in their published accounts. How could they let their guide mention that Dar-e-Daulat was a symbol of royalty and, to its vindictive destroyers, a structure that had inflicted untold miseries on them. How could they let their historian record that once upon a time there was a lofty gate here with stately doors, battlements, a black statue at the top and two artillery pieces on its extremes that had witnessed the pomp and splendor of Oudh rulers and then the death and destruction of its plunderers. It was well to let it pass unsung from the realm of reality to the world of fiction and then on to poetic fancy. Our ignorance today about its existence, location and magnificence was foreseen and preplanned. But it was no poetic fancy of the inimitable elegy-writer Mir Anees of the court of Oudh to mourn the loss in his immortal lines.

"Dar-e Daulat whence wealth so widely flourished,  
That House is ruined, that Establishment has vanished.  
The Palaces and their inmates have all been drowned  
And the earth on which it stood has been turned upside down."  
- TR 12

### Acknowledgements

Translation of the Latin text of the Memorial Tablet by  
Rev. Father Limmamey, S.J. of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta

Transaltion of Urdu verses by  
Ms. Sadaf Fatima of Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta.

#### Abbreviations

- AFF = A Fatal Friendship by Rosie Llewellyn Jones, Oxford India Paperback, New Delhi, 1992.  
FI = Fasana-e Ibrat by Mirza Rajab Ali Baig Suroor, Lucknow, 1884.  
NA = Tawarikh-e Nadir-ul Asr by Munshi Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1863.  
QT = Qaiser-ut Tawarikh by Syed Kamaluddin Haider, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Lucknow, 1907.  
SG = Sabad-e Gul by Sha'ir Lucknowi, Nizami Press, Lucknow, 1929.

#### Translation

Original text of passages quoted in the paper, marked TR 1,  
TR 2...

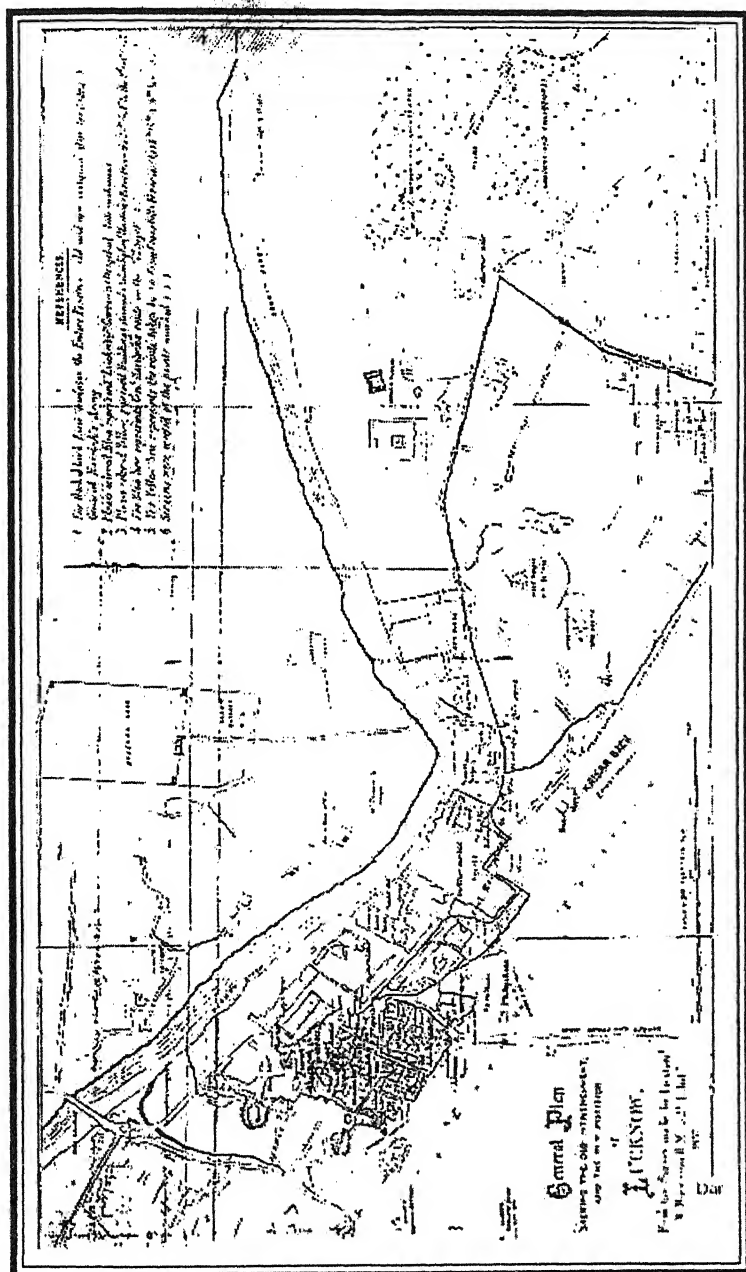
”میرا بلال دایماد شاہ دلی اور میرا کوچک سلطان بیٹے بہادر شاہ --- آئے۔ چتر منزل  
رہنے کو ملا۔ پھر مشہور ہوا کہ ان کا بہنہ متصل در دولت اچھا ہے یہ صاحب موصلا  
اولو العزم ہیں۔ ایسا نہ ہو تخت شاہی سیر سٹھ جائیں“ صد ۲۱۴

آصف الدولہ کی تربت اور عزیز خا کو دیکھو دیکھا ہے بستہ دل پھر کے افسانے کو دیکھو  
چتر منزل ہے کلب بن کر بلشہر جا کو دیکھو خال ازل ہے در دولت کے دیر کو دیکھو

۱۷۱۰۱

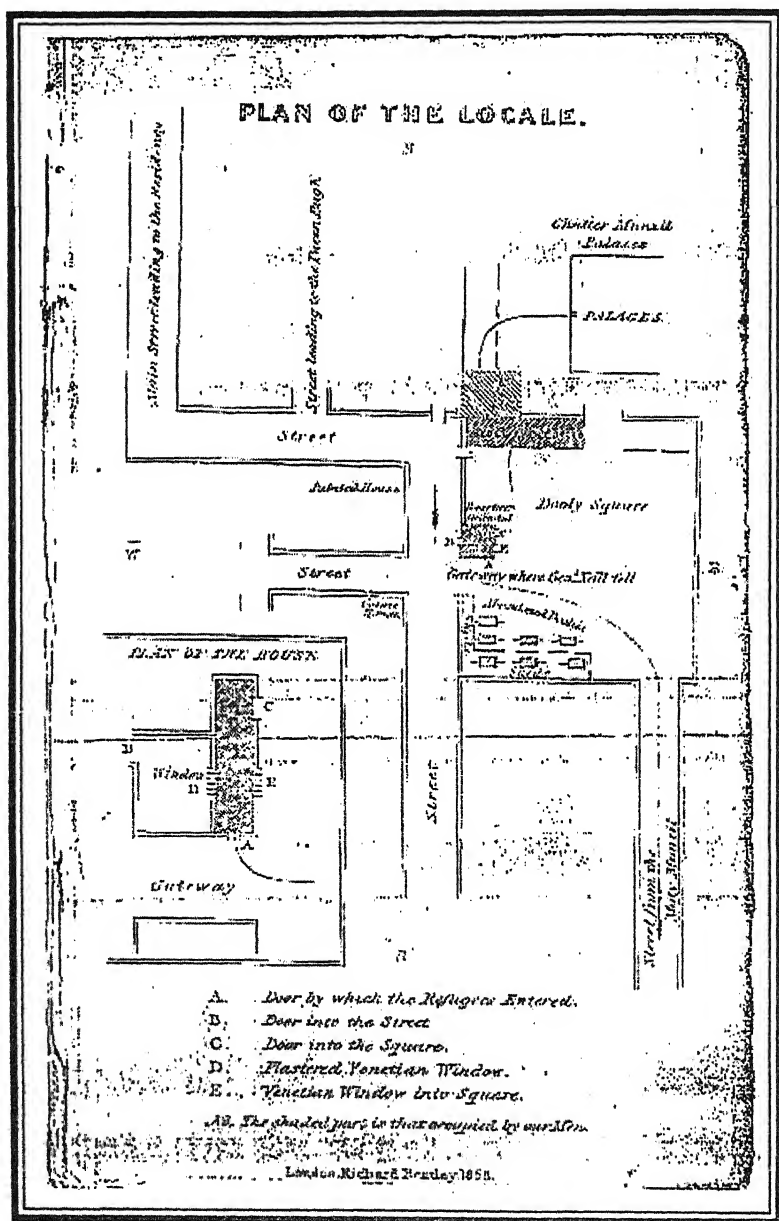
جل اضافہ ہو اگر متغیر دل کے داغ میں گل کہاں باقی نہیں خوشبو بھی قصور اغ میں  
عہ شاہی محل تو کھد چکے ہیں صرف ایک دروازہ اس نام سے موتی محل کے  
پل کے قریب باقی ہے۔



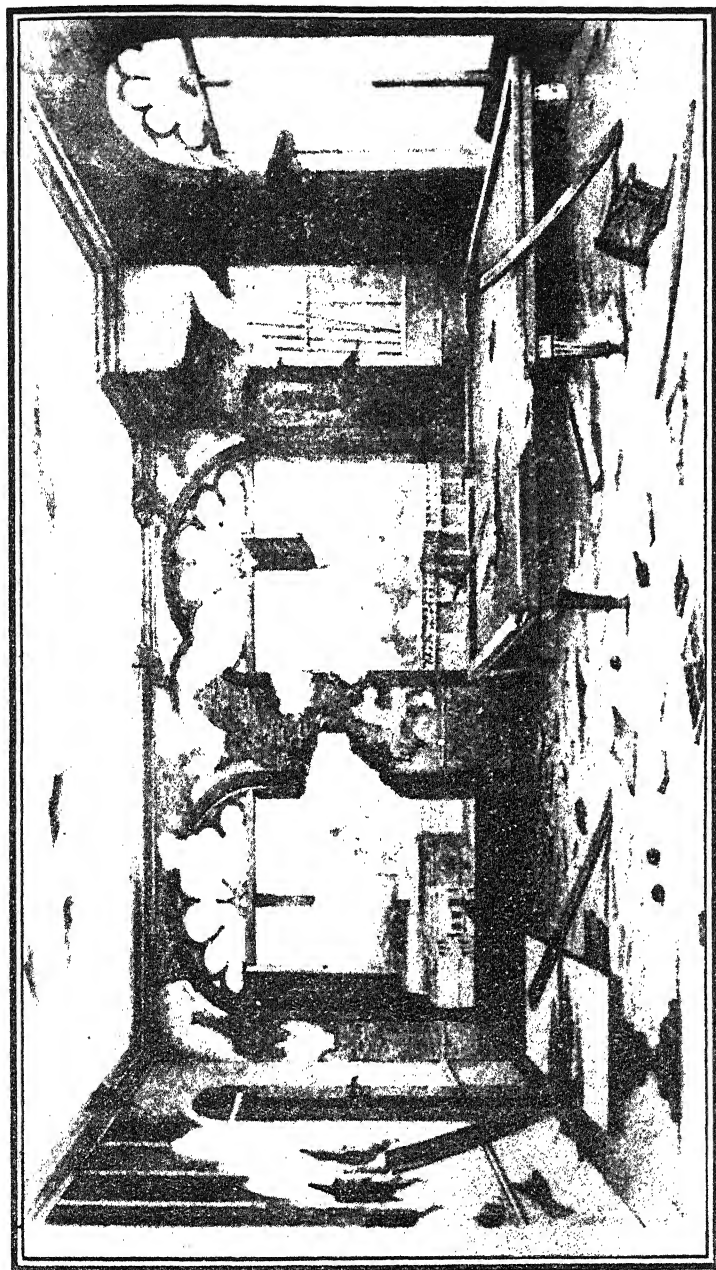


FROM MAJ. GUBBINS' NARRATIVES OF THE MUTINIES IN OUDE, WITH COMPLIMENTS FROM DR. M. KAUKUB

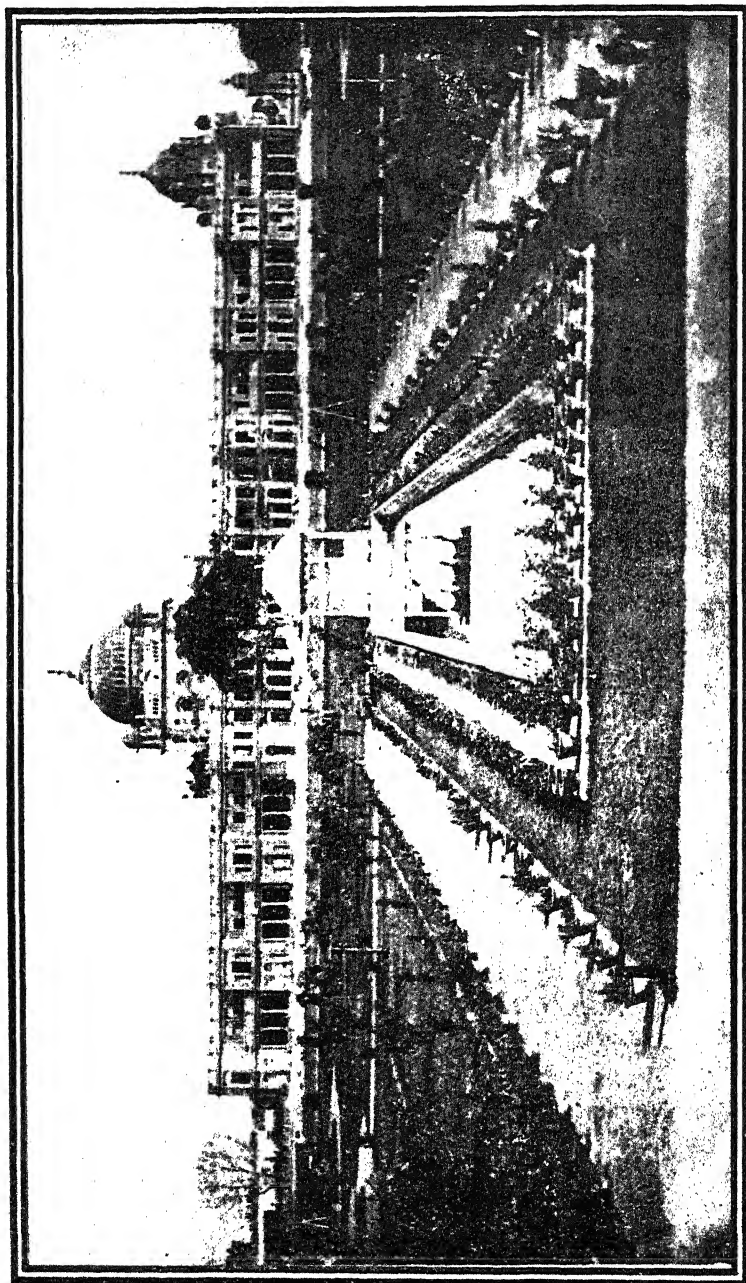




FROM MAJ. GUBBINS' NARRATIVES OF THE MUTINIES IN OUDE.  
WITH COMPLIMENTS FROM DR. M. KAUKUB



A VIEW OF THE 'DARE DAULAT' FROM THE BILLIARDS ROOM OF RESIDENCY



EASTERN BUILDINGS OF QAISER BAGH

## THE QUEEN MOTHER'S VISIT TO ENGLAND

Rosie Llewellyn-Jones

[Dr. Rosie Llewellyn Jones, a writer and a historian, is in charge of the archives and records at South Bank University, London. 26 years back, when Dr. Jones started studying Urdu, she developed a taste of Indian culture, specially of Lucknow. She became interested in the buildings, specially secular buildings and wrote her Ph.D. thesis on Shahi as well as British Architecture, which was published in India by Oxford University Press, Delhi with the title- 'A fatal friendship: the Nawabs, the British and the city of Lucknow'. She has two more books to her credit. Research in England has uncovered many new interesting facts, particularly about the Nawabs, their daily lives and as to how they reacted when the East India Company annexed the kingdom of Avadh etc. She is now collecting together all of Claude Martin's letters, in Persian, French, Urdu and English. Dr. Jones is also Editor of "Chowkidar", the Journal of the British Association for cemeteries in south Asia and is particularly interested in European cemeteries in India. - Editor.]

The story of a visit to England by the Queen Mother of Avadh has always seemed particularly poignant. Jenab Aliya Begum was the mother of the last King, Wajid Ali Shah, and, after the British annexation of Awadh in February 1856, the royal family sent into exile in Calcutta. Very little had been published in English about her unsuccessful mission other than that she had died in Paris on the return journey. She has become only a footnote in the sad story of the fall of Nawabi Lucknow and the subsequent uprising of 1857. I decided to investigate her visit by looking at contemporary English newspapers and magazines, with some additional information from published Urdu sources. I also wrote to the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle on the offchance and was delighted when her Majesty the Queen kindly gave me permission to quote from the Journal of Queen Victoria, who had recorded her short meeting with Jenab Aliya on 4<sup>th</sup> July 1857. It is for the first time that this extract has been made public. It is most probable that further information can be found from

contemporary French records. And this should be the next step for another historian to take. In the mean time, I offer what information I have gathered in an attempt to restore the figure of this brave woman to her rightful place in the history of Awadh.

In the summer of 1857, Wajid Ali Shah sent his mother, brother and son to plead for his reinstatement on the Avadh throne to Queen Victoria, when illness prevented the king from going himself. The royal party left Calcutta in June, on the SS Bengal, making for the little transit port of Suez at the mouth of the Red Sea. From there, they made the short journey in closed carriages north to the Mediterranean. The journey time between India and England had been almost halved, to less than three months, when the overland route between Suez and Alexandria was developed in the 1840s. Steamships run by the Peninsula and Oriental Company travelled regularly between Alexandria and Southampton and the queen mother's party arrived at Southampton on the SS Indus on 21 August 1856.

The group that stepped ashore on that late summer's day presented a picture of oriental grandeur that fully matched the expectations of the vast crowds who filled the dock to watch them disembark. The queen mother, widow of king Amjad Ali Shah, whose full name was Malika Kishwar Bahadur Fakr-ul-Zamani Nawab Taj Ara Begum (Jenab Aliya Begum) was carried in a sedan chair, "closely veiled" and attended, according to 'The Times' by nine ladies. Other members of the party included her son General Mirza Mohammad Jawad Ali, Sikander Hashmat Bahadar (Younger brother to Wajid Ali Shah), her grand son the heir apparent Mirza Mohammad Hamid Ali Bahadar, the king's legal representative Maulvi Masih-ud-din Khan, the Maulvi's Deputy Munshi Qamar-ud-din and the interpreter Haider Jung Bahadar. To serve this distinguished group were 110 attendants including the Queen Mother's medical officer, General Mirza's aide de camp, several soldiers acting as bodyguards, and seven eunuchs, one of them a Nubian "well high seven feet tall". The entire party went straight to Mr. Whites Royal York Hotel in Southampton, which had been taken over for ten days at a cost of £ 100.<sup>1</sup>

Two slightly less exotic figures accompanied the group, the Englishmen John Rose Brandon and Major Robert Bird, former Assistant Resident and keen race-goer. Both men had left Lucknow five months earlier with the king and had accompanied him to Calcutta. Brandon was an entrepreneur and businessman, who had worked for king Naseer-ud-din Haider and had subsequently set up

a company that ran daily coaches to and from Lucknow and Cawnpore. Robert Bird had fallen foul of Major General William Sleeman during the latter's appointment as Resident to the Awadh Court between 1849 and 1854. Sleeman had accused Bird of many things, including over familiarity with Wajid Ali Shah and his courtiers, especially on the race-course.<sup>2</sup> Bird had been transferred to Ajmer in 1852, "more for the sake of keeping the peace", but had returned to Lucknow by 1856, implacably opposed to Sleeman and his recommendations for annexation, and thus sympathetic to the King's cause.

The royal family were furnished with 'an immense sum of money', despite the unfortunate loss of jewels worth £50,000 in the Red Sea, which had been intended as a gift for Queen Victoria. This early misfortune was the first of several to dog the ill-fated mission. According to Maulvi Masih-ud-din Khan, the jewels had been entrusted to the heir apparent by Wajid Ali Shah. The eighteen year old boy had in turn handed them over for safe-keeping to one of the eunuchs, who somehow managed to let them slip into the Red Sea while the party were disembarking at Suez.<sup>3</sup> The Maulvi had a low opinion of the majority of his fellow travelers from the start, describing them as 'men of no character and position..... do paise ke log', whose presence and behaviour in England ruined any chance he may have had of presenting the King's case with dignity. He felt justified in his opinion when the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the East India Company reportedly told him, "Moulvi Sahib", you have done well to bring these depraved swindlers with you, whose mere presence here is enough to prove our charges against the Awadh king.

The Times torn between xenophobia and snobbery, reported almost daily on the sojourn in Southampton.<sup>4</sup> There was a steady procession of worthies paying their respects to the royal visitors including the Earl and Countess of Hardwicke, Sir George Wombwell, the Mayor of Southampton Mr. Andrews, Sir George Pollock, Admiral Aysough and 'several parties of ladies'. The Queen Mother, in purdah, shook hands with Mayor through a curtain. But there was, at the same time, 'mere vulgar curiosity on the part of the multitude who design only to see the dresses and appointments of the servants and followers and greedily drink in the absurd tales of the fabulous wealth and jewels of the royal party which have been industriously circulated'. While the royal family kept to the upper rooms of the hotel, where the Queen Mother's ladies could be glimpsed peeping round the curtains at the crowd on the pavement below, the servants

had colonized the basement. They were described as 'unusually filthy', squatting before charcoal fires and smoking 'dirty opium pipes'. Clothes were strewn all over the floors, so that their quarters looked like a rag merchant's premises and there were complaints from passers by of 'smells'. Whenever the servants went out to look at the shops. They were followed by crowds of idlers.

Disagreements arose between Brandon and Bird, both jockeying for power, in an echo of earlier European behavior at the Lucknow Court. Major Bird had been put in charge of all the arrangements for the party, but it was Brandon, who was sent off to London to rent suitable accommodation, which took nearly two weeks to find. At the end of August, the whole group travelled to London, having hired a special train for the journey. Cabs were ordered to take everyone to the railway station, the servants cheerfully piling on top with the luggage and waving farewell to the crowds lining the streets. The station master had refused to close the station to the general public, but the eunuchs kept them at bay. The problem of how to get the Queen Mother from her closed carriage across the platform and into the train was neatly solved by a human corridor of servants holding up calico sheets behind them, between which Jenab Aliya passed.

More crowds greeted the travellers on their arrival in London, as they drove to Harley House, on the north side of Marylebone Road. The detached residence, rented by Brandon for a year for £550 was surrounded by a high brick wall, but had a convenient side entrance into Regent's Park. Harley House was let unfurnished and Brandon had no time to organize furniture, so a number of upholsterers were called in, while groups of servants went out on shopping expeditions. The royal party was to stay here for thirteen months.

Was their mission to England doomed from the start? Or did news of the 'Mutiny' that broke out next year harden English hearts against the Awadh family? Not everyone agreed with the East India Company's policy in India, there is little evidence that Jenab Aliya attracted much anti-annexation sympathy in Britain. Apart from a few individuals, who have identified themselves with the interests of the Royal Family', like Brandon and Bird, there was certainly no visible public opposition to the takeover. The publication of William Knighton's *Private Life of an Eastern King* in 1855 was immensely damaging to the Awadh royal family, and was a popular and widely read book. An editorial in *The Times* just after the royal party's arrival

at Southampton conceded that it was 'a daring conception to bring the late Court of Oude bodily before the British public', and attributed this to Major Bird who 'artfully treated his theme'. But, it continued 'Oude was virtually a part of British India' and suggested a public reading of Knighton's book if there were any doubters among the crowds of sightseers in the Marylebone Road.

'The Illustrated London News' commented more sympathetically that 'A dethroned monarch is always an object of commiseration, even when his conduct has merited animadversion' and that 'the reception of the ex-Queen (sic) in this country should be marked by delicacy and consideration'.<sup>5</sup> But not restoration. In answer to Wajid Ali Shah's petition to the Court of Directors, sent from Harley House on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1856, the Court ruled that an annual pension of Rs. 12 lakhs should be offered to him but no titular sovereignty. The title of 'king' would cease on his death. In a curiously chilling sentence reminiscent of 20th century Communist ideas of 're-education', the Directors recommended that 'The young princes are to be trained and educated so as to 'become' useful citizens' so as to prevent them from sinking into degraded habits of life'. It was suggested that the royal family should become jagirdars and that Rs. 12 lakh would descend as an hereditary grant. How much the hopes of the royal family had been falsely encouraged by Robert Bird and John Rose Brandon in Calcutta, one cannot say. Did the two mavericks genuinely believe that a personal appeal from one Queen to another would reverse a political decision in India? Almost certainly not, but one should not cynically condemn their motives, anymore than one should censure those few Europeans who fought against the British during 1857. After all the wheel of history has often turned yesterday's dissidents into today's freedom fighters.

Two short books and a pamphlet supporting the Awadh royal family were published in London during 1857, the latter by Major Bird, entitled 'The Spoliation of Oudh'. Samuel Lucas, about whom little is known, published 'Dacoitee in Excelsis' or 'The Spoliation of Oude by the East India Company', and Maulvi Masih-ud-din Khan wrote 'Oude; its princes and its Government vindicated'. Khan's book, written in English, but probably translated from the original Urdu was suppressed shortly after its publication, only a few copies surviving. It is impossible to say how widely these three works became known. But safe to say that none, despite their passionately



felt convictions, stood any chance against 'private life of an Eastern King'.

On 16<sup>th</sup> January 1857, while Wajid Ali Shah's petition was still before the Court of Directors, General Mirza Hashmat and the heir apparent were entertained by those same Directors at East India House, in a ceremonial visit. Attended by Major Bird and a Colonel Rawlinson, the two princes in their magnificent costumes of crimson velvet and jewels attracted the usual crowds. They were formally received, introduced to the Directors, shown around the Company's museum and entertained to a 'dejeuner' in the Finance Committee room, perhaps in ironic acknowledgment of the substantial contributions made by their forefathers to the Company's coffers. The meal was served 'in a style of great elegance under the personal superintendence of Mr. Bathe of the London Tavern' and broke up at 3.30 pm when the princes returned to Harley House.

The uprising of 1857 is generally reckoned to have started on 10<sup>th</sup> May at Meerut, although there were earlier indications of trouble. When news of the outbreak reached the royal family at Marylebone, they sent a petition to the House of Commons, making it clear that Wajid Ali Shah had no hand in the troubles. His sole concern, and the reason for the prolonged stay in England by his relatives, was to get the decision on his dethronement reversed. His Majesty, the petition stated 'relies only on the justice of his cause, appeals only to Her Majesty's throne and to the parliament of Great Britain, and disdains to use the arm of the rebel and the traitor to maintain the right he seeks to vindicate.'<sup>9</sup> Indeed it would have been madness for Wajid Ali Shah to have aligned himself with the rebels while his mother, brother and son were in London pleading for his reinstatement as a loyal, if wronged, to the British Government and Crown.

Despite the worrying news from India, arrangements went ahead for a meeting between the royal party and the woman they had come to see, Queen Victoria. There are two accounts of what took place on the afternoon of 4 July 1857 at Buckingham Palace, the first by Queen Victoria herself, who kept a daily journal. 'After luncheon received the Queen of Oude. Much trouble in arranging that no man should look at her, she was placed in the "Closet" (next the White Drawing room) where my ladies remained with her & her son and grandson. We entered behind her with our 7 children, Mr.

V. Smith and Sir G. Clark (who acted as interpreter). She threw back her veil and kissed my hand, which the grandson also did. She was much weighed down by her heavy dress, her crown and jewels, being very small. She has fine eyes, painted, as is customary. The grandson also wore a sort of crown and both the princes had long loose robes, like dressing gowns, on. A few words were exchanged, when the Queen and I were seated. Albert, with the 2 eldest boys and Gentlemen stood behind her. She gave me a letter and a handsome ornament of pearls and precious stones, to which is appended an ornament with sweet smelling perfume, very curious. We then retired, but missed the interesting sight of her departure in state.<sup>10</sup>

The second, more detailed account, is given by the historian Kamal-ud-din Haider, and must have come from one of the Awadh people, who were present. It had been agreed that apart from the two male attendants of Queen Victoria [and her husband and sons], no other men would be at the audience. Jenab Aliya was escorted from her carriage by several female attendants, and taken into the small room to await Victoria's arrival. The Queen came in wearing a simple 'circular dress (a crinoline) and after 'respectful salutations' from both sides, accepted a nazr of gold mohurs from the Indian Queen. The General and the heir apparent then offered their nazrs and proceeded to kiss Queen Victoria's hand, but she preferred to shake their hands. Whatever the Awadh party may have expected from this meeting, it could not have been a discussion on boating. 'Do you sometimes go sailing?' Victoria asked the princes. 'They replied humbly. "In our city there is a very small river, the Gomti, but we have never sailed on it." A gloomy discussion on shipwrecks and the discomforts of their voyage to England.

The Queen enquired whether Janab Aliya had seen many English mansions, and offered to arrange visits to some of them for her. She then asked if the young Prince of Wales could enter the chamber and be presented. (One imagines him waiting eagerly in an antechamber to be called in, if the Queen Mother agreed). Janab Aliya is said to have taken Edward on her lap affectionately and to have spoken to him with great fondness. The prince of Wales was then sixteen years of age no stranger to Indian royalty, having photographed the exiled Maharaja Duleep Singh the previous year. The Queen Mother then took off her necklace, from which hung a jeweled itrdan, or perfume flask and put it around his neck. When

Queen Victoria enquired about this, she explained that it was the Indian custom for hosts to fill the *itrdan* with perfume as their guests departed. 'Perhaps', mused the writer charitably 'the thought passed through the mind of the Exalted Queen [Victoria] that these people were weary, and wished to take their leave.'<sup>11</sup> Victoria promised a fuller meeting in a week or so, a meeting that was never to take place. The audience came to a graceful conclusion, the fissures of mutual incomprehension having been neatly smoothed over by the covering of polite conversation.

We know what the Prince looked like during their meeting at Buckingham palace, because shortly afterwards they visited the photographer Mr. Mayall of Regent Street for a studio portrait in 'full Court Costumes, which present a blaze of diamonds, and are only worn on State occasions, such as the recent presentation to the Queen of England. They each wear the same sort of high coronet cap of gold and jewels, but ornamented with a few small feathers, and without the silver ornaments peculiar to the crown of the Queen. The young Prince is magnificently decorated with jewels, the dress itself being composed of cloth of gold. The young prince, or as he is more ceremoniously styled, his Royal Highness Mirza Hammid Ally Valee Ahud [Ahed] Behadoor, Is the son and as the Oudians still delight to call him, the heir apparent to the deposed King of Oude. The second crowned head is that of his uncle and military adviser, his Royal Highness the General Mirza Mohamed Jowad [Jawad] Ally Sikander Hushmat Behadoor.<sup>12</sup> Also in the group were the Maulvi, the aide de camp and the interpreter.

News of the arrest of Wajid Ali Shah with two of his Ministers, which had taken place on 15<sup>th</sup> June did not reach the royal party for nearly four weeks. As soon as they learnt of the arrest, Masih-ud-din Khan, the spokesman, issued a public appeal that the King should not be condemned and that there had been no conspiracy on his part as company officials claimed. The Queen Mother and the princes composed a paper for the House of Lords stating 'Your petitioners have sustained their own peculiar cause of pain and sorrow' on learning of the king's detention. They asked to know 'what he was charged with, by whose authority he had been charged, and that he should be permitted to correspond freely with his family.' The arrest marked the end of a mission that had been hopeless from the start. 'The position of the unfortunate queen-mother of Oude, and the two

princes her relatives, in this country, had now become one of extreme embarrassment both to themselves and the government....the alleged conspiracy and imprisonment of the king in Fort William, naturally surrounded them with difficulties that, for a time at least, were insurmountable, and in the end were destined to be fatal. The object of the mission of the queen and her relatives had already been long before the government and the court of directors, but no step appears to have been taken by either towards a satisfactory termination of the question between the king of Oude and the East India Company, when the revolt broke out.<sup>13</sup>

The petition to the House of Lords was presented by Lord Campbell on 6<sup>th</sup> August and pettily rejected on a minor technicality. 'Their Lordships declined to receive [it] on account of an objection having been taken to it by Lord Redesdale, because it did not style itself the "humble petition". It was subsequently placed before the House of Commons, who declined to discuss it and ordered it to 'lie on the table'.

As a horrified British public learnt of the scale of the Indian uprising during the autumn of 1857, the royal party remained quietly in Marylebone. Towards the end of the year the Jenab Aliya sought and received permission from the Court of Directors to leave England and proceed to Mecca on the journey home. None of the fanfare of publicity that had accompanied her arrival marked the departure. There were no curious crowds outside Harely House as the group departed for Paris in January 1859 on the first stage of their return to India.

The party settled into a hotel in the rue Laffitte, and it was here on 23rd of the month that Jenab Aliya died, aged fifty-three. French officials informed the British Government of her death and their intention to honour the foreign queen. Arrangements were made for a royal funeral, which explains the four day delay in burial. On 27th January her body was borne in a hearse drawn by six horses to the newly opened Muslim portion of Pere Lachaise Cemetery. The elaborate funeral procession of thirteen carriages followed bearing the mourners, who included the Ambassadors of Turkey and Persia. The scene was watched by a large number of people, 'aristocrats and ordinary people as well'. General Mirza attempted to follow the cortege on foot, but broke down in grief and was taken into the carriage of one of the French ministers. At the burial ground, prayers

were read over the pall-draped coffin, and a temporary canopy erected over the grave.<sup>14</sup> Illustrations show General Mirza weeping and deeply affected, surrounded by a solemn crowd of Frenchmen and women in mourning. Some time after the funeral, arguments broke out between the two princes and Maulvi Masih-ud-din Khan, not helped by contradictory messages from Wajid Ali Shah in Calcutta. The heir apparent decided to stay on in Paris, while his uncle and the maulvi returned to London. General Mirza himself died shortly afterwards, and his body was taken back to Paris, to lie next to that of his mother, both exiled for ever. There was, perhaps, one of the saddest story of Nawabi Awadh.

### References

1. *The Times* (London) reported extensively on the arrival of the Queen-Mothers party at Southampton, and the subsequent journey to London; but seemed to lose interest thereafter. See reports for 19 August, 22 August, 27 August, 28 August, 30 August, 1 September, 2 September 1856.
2. Llewellyn-Jones, Rosie: *A Fatal Friendship, the Nawabs, the British and the City of Lucknow* OIP Delhi 1985 pp 123-4.
3. *Maulvi Mohammad Masih uddin Khan Bahadur: Oude, its princes and its Government vindicated* John Davy & Sons, London 1857. Reprinted as *British Aggression in Awadh*. Ed. Safi Ahmad, with foreword by Professor Mohammad Habib, Meerut 1969 p3.
4. *The Times*, op. cit.
5. *Illustrated London News*, London 18 July 1857
6. *The Times* 11 Feb 1857
7. *The Spoliation of Oudh by Major Robert Bird*, published in London in 1857 is a 24-page pamphlet. (BL 8023 cc 49(1) Dacoitee in Excelsis or *The Spoliation of Oude by the East India Company* also published in London in 1857 is a book of 214 pages. (BL 9056.f.14). It is some times attributed to Bird as well, but the British Library catalogue attributes it one Samuel Lucas. The contents of pamphlet and book are different.
8. *The Times* 17 Jan. 1857
9. Ball, Charles "The History of the Indian Mutiny", London 1858 Vol. 1 p 631
10. The Royal Archives, Windsor. The gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen to quote material from the Royal Archives, is most gratefully acknowledged.
11. *Kamal-ud-din Haider op.cit.* Vol. I pp.413-5
12. *Illustrated London News* 1 August 1857
13. Ball, op.cit. Vol.1 p.163.
14. *Narrative of the Indian revolt from the Outbreak to the Capture of Lucknow* London 1858 p.324.



MIRZA MOHAMMED MASEHOOD  
DEEN



ATTENDANTS OF THE COURT OF OUDE



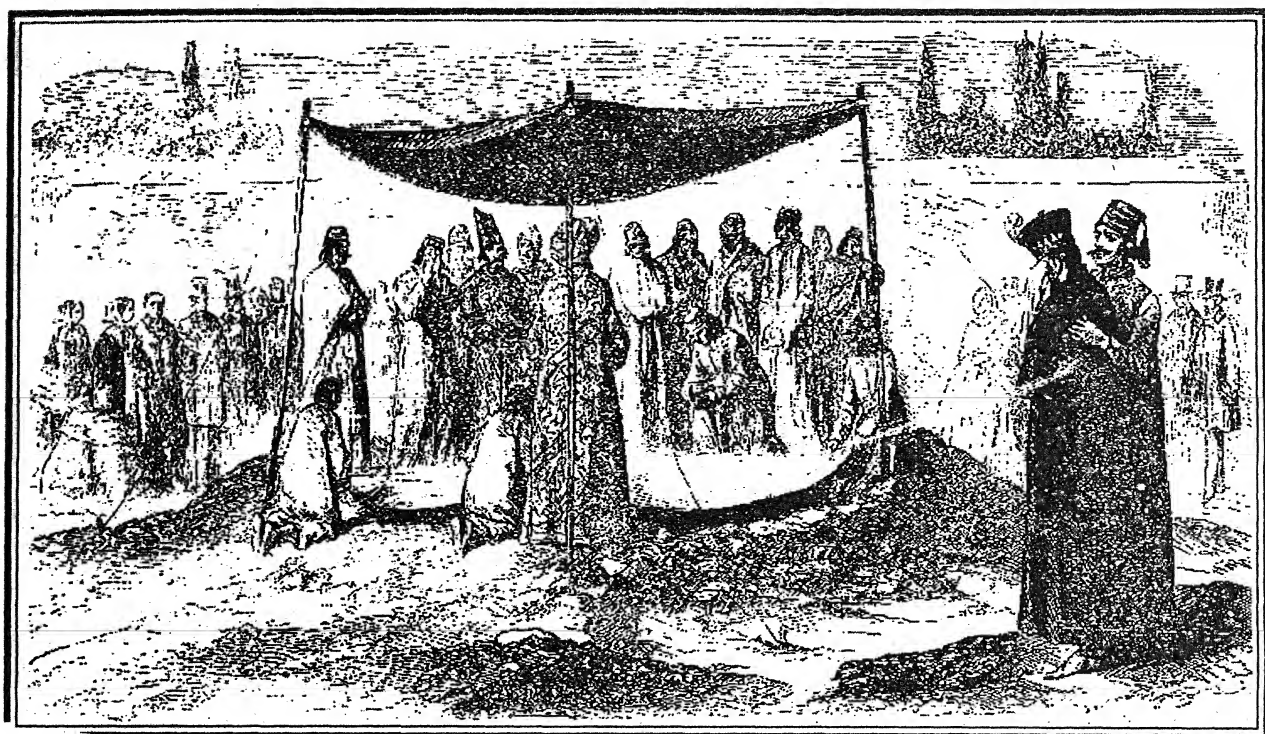
JAYET HUSSAIN,  
ATTACHED TO THE SUITE



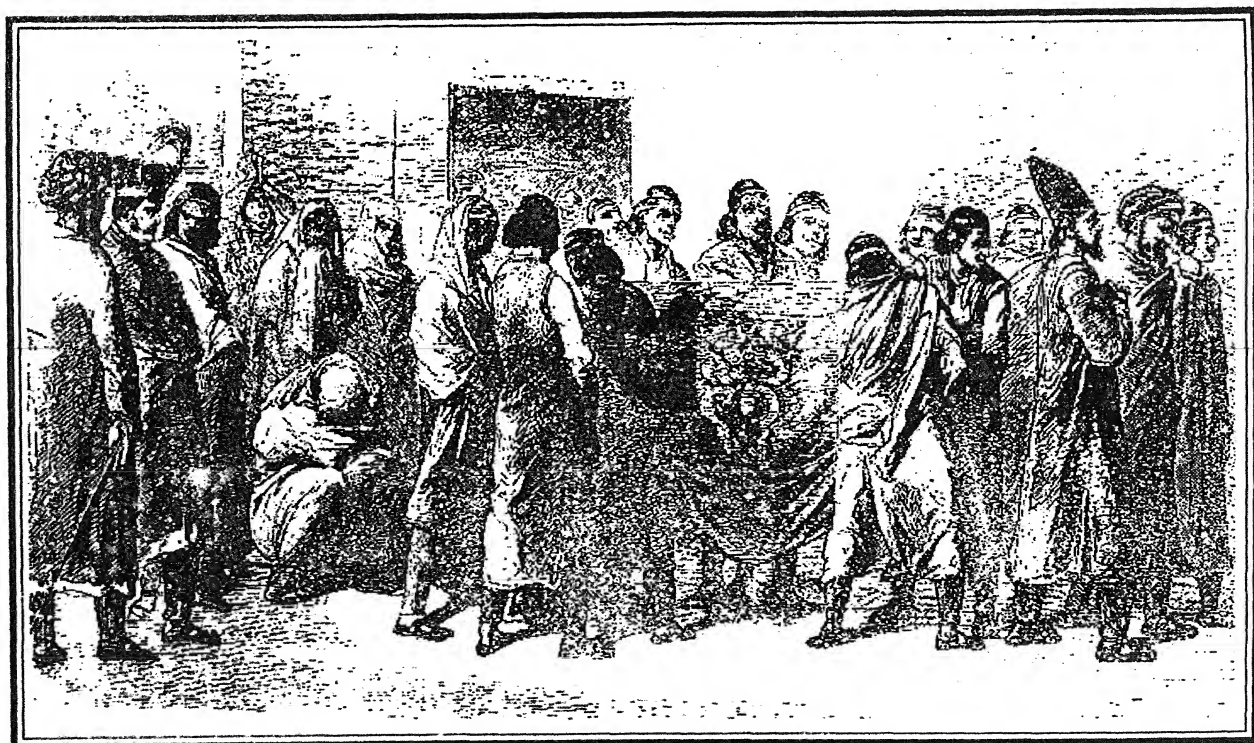
NAWAB MEHDEE KOOLIE



KUNNEZI HOSAIN,  
ADOPTED CHILD OF THE

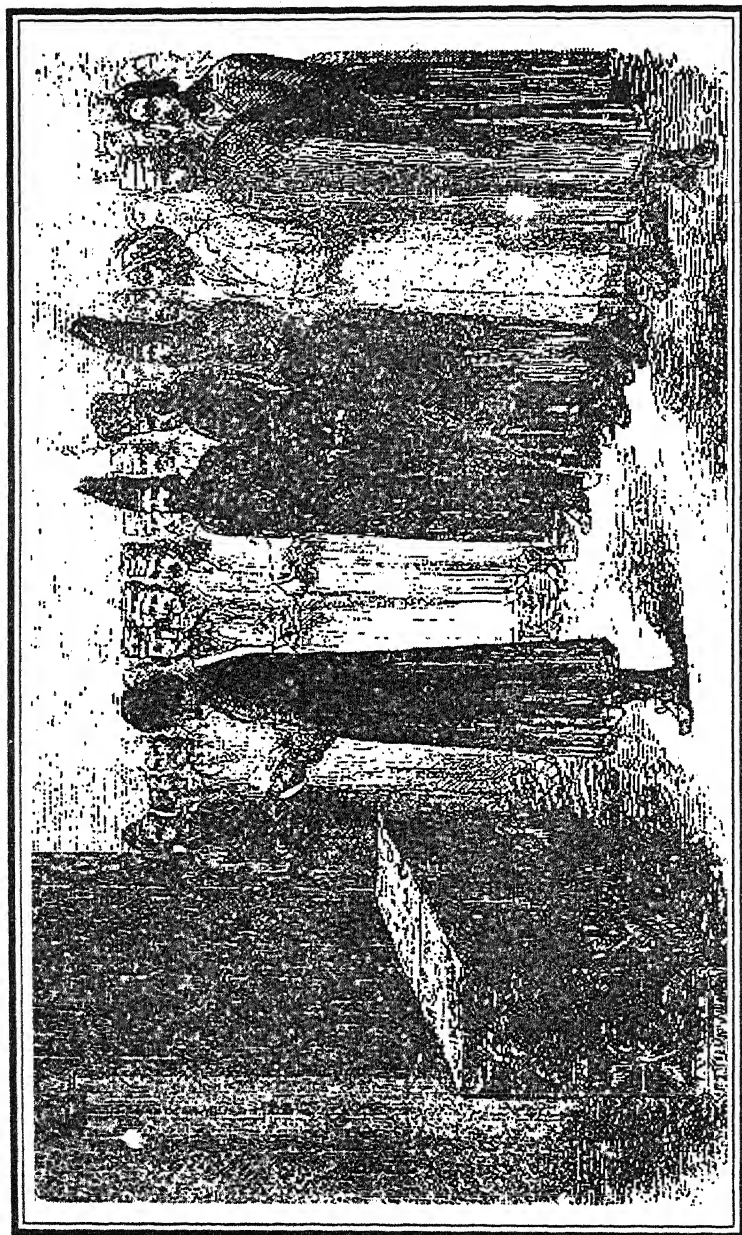


THE BURIAL OF QUEEN OF OUDE AT SUNDOWN



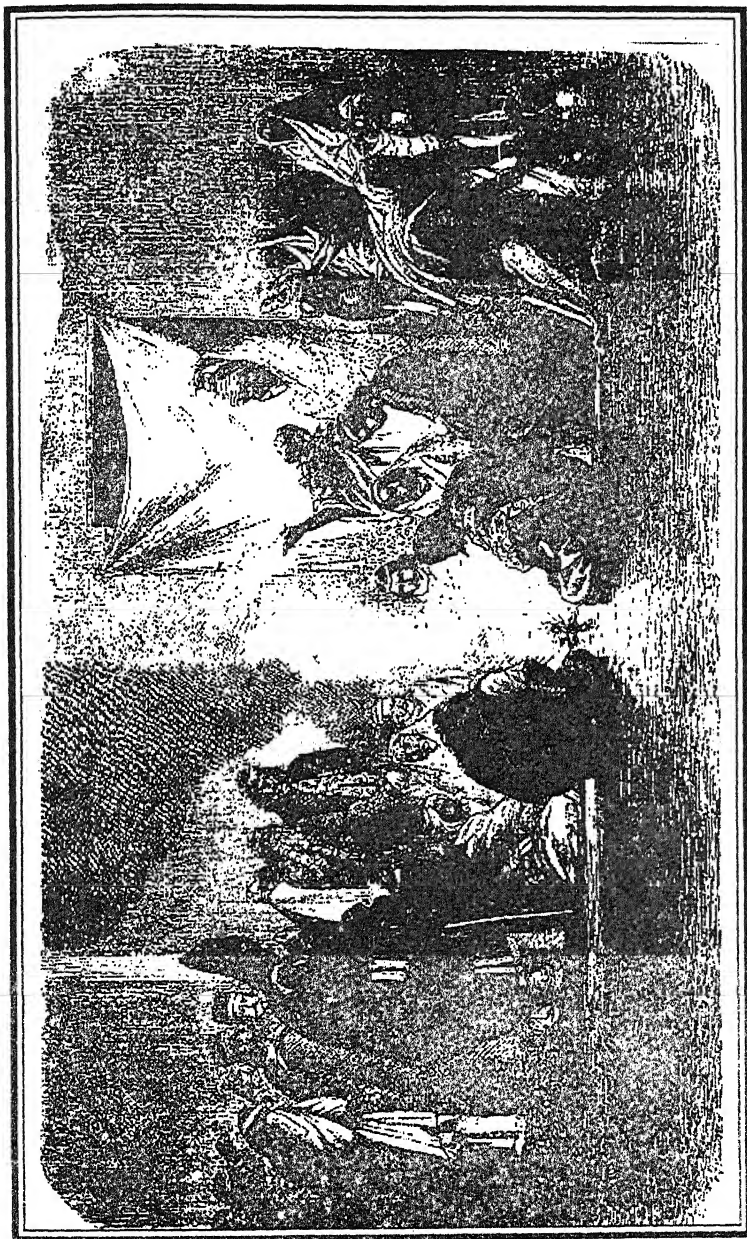
FUNERAL OF THE QUEEN OF OUDE : CONVEYING THE COFFIN TO THE HEARSE





FUNERAL OF THE QUEEN OF OUDE: (NAMAZ-E-JANAZA) PRIEST READING PRAYERS OVER THE COFFIN IN THE MAHOMEDAN CEMETRY  
PERE LACHAISE (PARIS)





THE SUITE OF THE QUEEN OF OUDE IN THE COURT OF THE HOTEL DURING THE ABLUTION OF THE BODY



INTERPRETER

THE GENERAL BROTHER OF  
THE KING OF OUDEELDEST SON AND HEIR THE KING'S AID-DE-CAMP  
OF THE DEPOSED KING OF OUDETHE KING'S  
AGENT

## PERIOD PHOTOGRAPHS

### The Unpublished Pages of Avadh History

P.C. Little

On July 8, 1837, Nasir ud din Muhammad Ali Shah was crowned as the third King of Avadh. It was also for the first time that the Company had displayed the force of bullets and bayonets to impose its will. Unwary of its moth-eaten roots, the Nawabi dynasty was at the peak of its splendour. Lucknow had indeed become a veritable Babylon. Incidentally this was also a period when the seed of photography had started germinating in the waste. Within two years on August 14, 1839 its first process, Daguerreotype, was presented to the world in Paris. The Czar of Russia and the King of Prussia William IV demanded immediate demonstrations. "Every body at the court seemed to have been seized by the Daguerreotype fever", as poet Dauthendey wrote. All the prognoses and courtiers wanted their photographs to be taken. One Count in Petrograd paid 3000 rubles for his picture. The question is, why then the history of Avadh, where even a barber called Russet could earn a name in bold letters and dare to produce a 4 mtr. Long bill for Rs.9000/- to the King, sit and dine with him, is totally silent about this greatest wonders of the century; it is a point to ponder. The silence, however, is broken as soon as the Crown abolished the Company in 1858, that too in a privately published diary in London. In it there is a detailed account of one Ahmad Ali Khan's serious involvement with photography. Later it comes to light that two albums of his works, containing photographs significant people of Avadh, including that of Queen Akhtar Mahal, were recovered from the Residency during its evacuation in 1857. It is also alleged that India House in London, the same time had tried to reach him for 'post mutiny' photographs of Lucknow. Only this much and no more' the name suddenly appears and then disappears. The secrecy is no doubt extremely conspicuous shrouded with mystery. Four years later, reference to a new name, Mushkoor ud Daulah appears in a letter to the editor in Avadh Akbar

in 1862. Nothing before and nothing after, till 1874, when the name of the third photographer of Avadh comes into light along with his "Lucknow Album", who also prepared "An historical Album of Rajas and Taaluqdars of Avadh", just six years later.

Digging deeper into the past, however, a strange fact comes into light that the camera, perhaps, entered Avadh more than a quarter of a century earlier than the invention of photography. Somewhere about 1720s, a Venetian painter Canaletto is known to have introduced the use of camera; known as 'camera Obscura' at that time, for producing accurate drawings of complicated architectural structures that made him famous for his cityscapes. The example was perhaps followed by William Marlow about half a century later and by the end of the century it became almost a common practice

In Avadh, Nawab Shuja ud daula invited Tilly Kettle, an accomplished portrait painter, to Faizabad in 1771, but, perhaps only as a result of the Nawab's previous failure to get his meeting with General Carance recorded properly. Tilly Kettle's services, therefore, were mostly utilized for portraying only significant events and meetings, just like photo-reportage. There were so many to come and go throughout the dynasty, but none of them could make a fortune like barber Russet; that's a point to note. The frustrations ran even so high as to make a painter like William Hodges to Commit suicide by taking a strong dose of poison. To sum it up, irrespective of the presence of master portrait painters like Charles Smith, portraiture could never gain favour in Avadh. It is quite probable that the traditional belief, perhaps, played some part in creating a sort of unconscious mental reservation against it; inspite of having the fancy of keeping court-painters as a ritual. There is, however, one person, who kept his work on for more than two decades, but maintained a low profile as a military officer; it was captain Robert Smith. After proper analysis of his work, some significant points come to light. First that, instead of Sunday painter like scenics with deep shadows, he produced pencil drawings with a minimum of shadows and shadings. These drawings can further be divided into two specific styles. On the one hand there are detailed and most accurate drawings with least emphasis on pictorial quality and rendering. They are so accurate as to stand at par with an architect's 'measured drawing' produced after months of labour assisted by a crew. The accuracy,

perspective and in some cases even optical distortions leave no doubt that they were definitely executed with the help of 'camera obscure', just like Canaletto to and William Marlow, as referred earlier. There is one more point to be considered seriously that, whether it is William Hodges or Capt. Smith, the site and the angle chosen is invariably not the most picturesque one but most important one, from the military and strategic point of view. In actuality, it was a part of farsighted and sagacious undercover tactics of the Company.

After the first treaty of Avadh and having shown Emperor Shah Alam his place, Clive wrote back home-

"we have arrived at a critical conjuncture, which I have long foreseen, a conjuncture which renders it necessary for us to determine, whether we can or shall take whole to our hands".

The fact is true that once the Company forces had marched one mile out of the Fort William's, there was no turning back: to the extent that Wellesely at one point could envision India as an Empire with himself on the throne.

The toss, however, fell in favour of an 'indirect rule' through its carefully chosen, hand-picked agents called Residents; sometimes from its Civil Service and sometimes from military; as the circumstances demanded. To cut the story short, these Residents had to keep the ruler under their control, by whatever means they could devise; even if it was playing with their internal or even family politics. The case of Bahu Begum and Badshah Bagum are burning examples.

To achieve these ends, they had to collect all the information they could; about palaces and fortifications, region and religion, customs and beliefs; every information regarding the means of the royal family as well as of the court and other men of power. It also included to learn and note down their weaknesses and follies and shortcomings. In other words, all the means of arm twisting to make a person do or create circumstances to manipulate things, as Company or the Resident desired, were resorted to without getting directly involved. This all crossed the limits to such an extent as to make Sleeman write about Wajid Ali Shah.

"His majesty will not take any amount of kicking without revolt".

The information collected by the Resident were put down on

paper and passed on to the next one and so on. Sleeman had two boxfulls of it securely locked in his cupboard. The two albums by Ahmad Ali Khan, recovered from Lucknow Residency, appear to be part of that Resident's personal, 'constituency' building tactics; a sort of pictorial who's who notations added in the Residency. It is also quite possible that this novel tactical device was a brain-child of Resident General Sleeman himself.

The presence of the photograph "Queen Akhtar Mahal, Nawab Raunaq Ara Begum of Avadh, aged sixteen", raises several questions. First that after a Bagum attained 'Mahal' status, using her maiden name was taken as against etiquette. Second the specific note about her age; and lastly she is quite conspicuous by the singularity of her presence in on the album. Why there are no photographs of Khas Mahal, Mashuq Mahal and Hazrat Mahal etc. and to top it all of the king himself? Could it be that the photographer Ahmad Ali Khan had in actuality no access at all to the Royal Family, and Raunaq Ara was photographed when she was yet to be or just to be married, and the details mentioned at a later date in the Residency? And if so then what is the actual sequence of the entries i.e. age, first name and second name etc. It is unfortunate that personally I do not have an access to those albums, now kept in London, but I am very much sure that a number of facts can be brought to light if they are studied critically. Each and every photograph, their sequence, each and every letter of the notations including handwriting, characters and corrections, over-writings may hold clue to so far unknown facts and interpretations. Like in a family album of one of the great trader family, one photograph on its back has a note "We are not traders, we are Nabobs". It speaks a lot more than just a casual remark; it results in no less clearer terms, the attitude of the family.

After Ahmad Ali, the reference to the second photographer that I came across was of Mushkoo ud daulah,. One Mr. Vadhera visited me with 56 photographs by Mushkoo ud daula. Taken in early sixties, the pictures tell a lot about the culture and society of Lucknow of that period, and also about the first Commercial Studio in Lucknow. The third photographer of this era was Haji Daroga Abbas Ali, who first brought out the well known Lucknow Album in 1874 and six years later. "An Historical Album of Rajas and Talluqdars of Avadh" in 1880". It is a point to note that all these three photographers were involved in the production of album of one or the other nature, and

out of these the first and the last appear to be brain-children of the establishment for obvious reasons. It is also important to point out that the work of all these photographers is of excellent quality and in no way inferior to other contemporary works.

Finally, I would like to extend one suggestion. Let us try to collect at one place, quality copies of all the photographs available, including those in the India Office Library in London and elsewhere. The collection then be published rather than be made a rule than exception unless they are not from the same negative. I am very much sure that these photographs will give us much more authentic information about the culture and society of the period. Believe me, they are not photographs but pages of history, and have to be read as we do terracottas and sculptures of the yore.



## THE IMPACT OF THE WEST IN THE COURT OF AVADH

P.K. Ghosh

The Treaty of Ailahbad in 1765 A.D was a memorable episode in the history of Anglo-Avadh relations, as from then onwards, the East India Company started gradually dominating-at first politically and thereafter culturally, the rulers of Avadh. Howere, the Nawabs still continued to act as the Nawab-Wazir of the Mughal Emperor till 1819 and sought the confirmation of their office from the Emperor until Lord Hastings created a new Kingdom of Avadh by proclaiming Nawab Ghaziuddin Haider its first King, independent of the Mughal Emperor at Delhi.

Over the years, with the influx of the Europeans in Avadh, the impact of the west became more prominently visible on the changing life style of the Nawabs and their courtiers. In fact, the western influence was visible as early as 1773, when Nawab Shuja-ud- daula considered it an honour to be called the 'Vizir' of the king of England.<sup>1</sup> However, he was not encouraged by the Government of the East India Company. A Frenchman M. Gentil stayed with Shuja ud daula as his adviser and was responsible for introducing many Frechmen to the Court. He Writes in his Memoirs that Shuja-ud-daula was Constant friend and protector of the French in India.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Asif-ud-daulal and Saadat Ali Khan also maintained cordial relations with the Europeans. After his accession to the throne, Ghazi-ud-din Haider had sent a mission to the English court laden with precious gifts.<sup>3</sup> In return, Queen Victoria sent a return mission with gifts and correspondence, which reached Lucknow during King Naseer-ud din Haider's first year on the throne, who felt honored to receive the gifts back and, thereafter, he sent yet another mission with more costly gifts back to England. The dispatch of the mission not only confirmed Naseeruddin's status as a King within the 'British Empire", but also cemented the relation between the rulers of Avadh and the British. monarch, on a political level.



In order to understand the western culture in its proper perspective, some of the rulers and the nobles of Avadh tried to acquire the knowledge of English language. Asif-ud-daula's son Wazir Ali was the first to learn English.<sup>4</sup> Saadat Ali Khan had spent a considerable time in Calcutta, where he interacted with the European society and gradually become proficient in the language. Mrs. Anne Deane observes: "Saadat Ali Khan understood the English language perfectly and wrote it correctly," but his pronunciation was said to be faulty.<sup>5</sup> Nasir-ud-din never seems to have learnt English much but he had great passion to learn the language as he says: "As I have always entertained an ardent desire to know English (a wonderful language), I have studied the usual rudiments of that language. I propose to employ Hurvy Wright and to learn English books from him at leisure".<sup>6</sup> Besides Hurvy Wright, Naseeruddin had some other tutors like Capt Mackens (his body guard) and George Harris Derusett, his barber, who was better known as "barber of Lucknow".<sup>7</sup> According to Syed Abu Mohammad, Naseeruddin Haider had developed a peculiar Persian lettering that from a distance, it resembled English script.<sup>8</sup>

Among the nobles, Tafazzul Hussain entitled Sarfaraz-ud-daula had mastered the English language.<sup>9</sup> He has translated a number of books in English into Arabic and Persian eg. Newton's 'Principia' works of Thomas Addison, Simpson's book on Algebra and Conic Sections, Emerson's book on Mechanics, Euclid's Works, Del-Hospital's work on conic section, several treatise, logarithms and curve line etc.<sup>10</sup>

Naseeruddin-Haider had founded an English school and a medical college for treatment by allopathic system of medicine. He had also established a King's Hospital near the Residency for treatment in allopathy system besides his Unani hospital at Dar-ul-Shafa Chowk.

The impact of the west was most conspicuous on the dress, food and drinks of the rulers and the nobles of Avadh. Saadat Ali Khan's long stay in Calcutta induced him so much to imitate western culture that he often appeared in English riding dress (breaches) and also in the uniform of an English Admiral. Ghaziuddin Haider had married an English lady, who became famous as Vilayti Begum. Similarly, his son Naseeruddin Haider had an English mistress. The English ladies must have influenced the kings to a great extent and might have enabled them to acquaint themselves more closely with western

traditions and culture. During this period a new style of pajama was designed, which resembles an English gown. It is said that Nasiruddin insisted upon the ladies of the harem to wear such Pajamas.

The Crown and robes used at the coronation ceremony of Ghaziuddin Haider was of European origin. Fisher States: "His Crown, in truth; was not a royal crown of India or Asia, but rather it was a crown of Charlemagne on a pack of cards."<sup>12</sup> He even initiated the English court of Arms.<sup>13</sup> Like his father, Naseeruddin Haider also behaved and dressed up as an Englishman, with the exception that he wore a crown instead of hat.<sup>14</sup> Viscount Valentia records that Nawab Saadat Ali Khan was "highly gratified by a comparison between himself and the Prince of Wales (Later George IV), and the father of a close friend of the Nawab, Pelegrine Treves was an Acquaintance of the crown Prince".<sup>15</sup>

Asifuddaula and his courtiers even entertained their foreign guests in western style. Once a visitor was compelled to remark: "If I looked no further than the tea table, I could persuade myself, I was in London". For some years, their interest had been so connected and interwoven with the English, that they endeavoured in all matters they could, with propriety to accommodate themselves to these manners."

Saadat Ali Khan also entertained his western guests in European style. A dinner hosted in the honour of Viscount Valencia is typical example. When the latter himself remarked that the English regimental band was playing English tunes. The room was arranged after European fashion, like lighted tables, chairs, looking glasses, English service plates, knives, forks, spoons, wine-glasses, decanter and cut glass vases etc. The mise-en-scene was so English like that it was difficult to believe that they were seated in the Court of an Asiatic prince.<sup>18</sup> In a similar manner, Ghaziuddin Haider had entertained Lord and Lady Moira in 1814. Naseeruddin Haider's table was laid in English style, while entertaining a British officer and lady in 1831.<sup>19</sup> It may be added here that Naseeruddin was very fond of English food and furniture. He even employed a French cook to prepare continental dishes.

Asif ud daula had an unquenchable passion for acquisition of articles of European manufacture and preserved them in his famous 'Aina Khana'. He had acquired a number of mechanical toys, watches, chronometer and other scientific instruments, imported from London.

Claude Martin had made a gas balloon, which was demonstrated to the Nawab. However, the experiment was not very successful then, but a successful attempt was followed during the reign of Naseeruddin Haider. An Englishman was successful in his experiment when he flew sitting on the boat of the balloon, which had descended about 14 miles away from the city near Chinhath. Naseeruddin had commanded his military chief, Bakhtawar Singh to follow the balloon. While passing from Dilkusha palace, from where the King was watching the feat, the Englishman took off his hat to salute him. The King later rewarded him with a gift of one thousand gold coins.

Ghaziuddin Haider's interest in mechanical inventions was revealed by his setting up a steam pump house.<sup>20</sup> A photograph of 1858 shows a huge boat in the shape of a fish.<sup>21</sup> He also possessed an English Coach, that was similar to Lord Mayo's Coach which was driven by a muslim coach man in a livery of the latest London fashion.<sup>22</sup>

Hakim Mehdi, the Nawab's Minister had a house at Fatehgarh, which was magnificently furnished in European style with a profusion of pier- glasses, mirrors, French organ, fancy clock of the most costly description as well as coo-coo clocks and musical boxes.

Naseeruddin's keen interest in Astronomy resulted in the establishment of an observatory called Taron Wali Kothi near Moti Mahal. The King had imported Galvanic instruments, besides telescope and other astronomical instruments for his observatory. He had employed Kamaluddin Haider as translator at the observatory to translate scientific and astronomical works from English to Urdu. The Observatory produced Lucknow Almanac.

King Mohammad Ali Shah was the first ruler of Avadh, who used iron railings at Husainabad Baradari. It was during the reign of Naseeruddin Haider that a proposal was mooted by Paton and supported by Hakim Mehdi for the erection of a cast iron bridge on the Gomti. In fact, Ghaziuddin Haider had sent for its component parts from England, but before the parts arrived, the King had passed away. Thereafter, his son Naseeruddin Haider gave the contract for assembling the components of the bridge to his court engineer Sinclair. But the bridge could not be completed. In 1840, Mohammed Ali Shah sanctioned £10,000 for the bridge construction of the brick piers under the supervision of Captain Hugh Fraser, an engineer of The Company,

who started the work in 1840 and the bridge was completed in the beginning of King Amjad Ali Shah's reign (1845)

During the reign of Ghaziuddin Haider, a European, named Archer, had popularized the idea of printing press and he established the first press in Lucknow. A few books like *Zad-ul-Miad*, *Haft Qulzum* and *Taj-ul-Lughat*, a dictionary were printed from this press. Later, a number of natives of Avadh established printing press in Lucknow. A rich merchant, Mustafa Khan established Mustafai press, Ali Baksh Khan, the Alvi press and many other printing press set up in Lucknow, where mostly the works on oriental languages, particularly on religion, diwans, tazkiras, tales and history were printed.

The impact of western influence is also reflected on the paintings and architecture of Lucknow. Zaffoni was employed by Nawab Asifuddaula on a handsome salary. Bishop Haber speaks highly about Robert Home's artistic skill. Muntz, who adorned Naseeruddin's court, had produced a number of excellent paintings of the King in his English dress as well as native costumes. Cassanova excelled in landscape painting, while Murray in miniature painting.<sup>24</sup> The impact of The European style was visible on the works of local artists. The art of painting was not patronized by Mahammad Ali Shah and Amjad Ali Shah as they were orthodox in their religious attitude.

A Frenchman, Antonie polier, the Chief Engineer of the East India Company in Calcutta and a friend of Shujauddaula, was appointed as an architect at his Court. It is believed that Polier had designed the Fort at Faizabad. Later, he shifted to Lucknow along with Nawab Asifuddaula. It is quite likely that he must have influenced early European style buildings in Lucknow.<sup>25</sup> Being a friend of Asifuddaula, Claude Martin, more than any other European was responsible for directing the taste of the Nawab and later his successor Saadat Ali Khan. Death of Asifuddaula marked the end of buildings built by freelance adventurers like, Polier, Martin Mordaunt and Derusset brothers.<sup>26</sup>

The Dilkusha Palace was an exact replica of Seeton Delavel, an English building designed by Sir John Vanbrugh in Northumberland.<sup>27</sup> Further, Kankar Wali Kothi and Noor Baksh Kothi (Presently the District Magistrates Residence at Hazratganj) were built in Italian style.<sup>28</sup> Thus, it may be said that the Nawabs were as fascinated by

the Baroque, the Palladian and the Regency modes as much as the Chinoiserie and an Indian Gothic appealed to the West.

Thus, it may be concluded that Lucknow was a flourishing, and memorable city that received tremendous impostures with the arrival of the Nawabi family from Iran, who were the carriers of vigorous new ideas and culture. The Britishers, who were constantly finding a plea to annex Avadh, eyed at it as a richly exploitable region and started interfering into the Nawab's affairs, slowly and gradually.

It was during such a period of continuous interaction between the Europeans and the Nawabs that the impact of western influence was visibly mingling with the 'Avadh' culture and was primarily confined to the rulers and the countries. Besides, the conscious and deliberate efforts of the Europeans to remain confined in and around the residency at Lucknow, was largely responsible to disallow the western impact to percolate down to the masses.

The fact that the rulers of Avadh scoffed at the British interference in their affairs was true. Yet, they were hell bent on flattering and impressing the west and that was visible in their exuberance of exploiting classical European architecture to create an Indo-European style and imitate European buildings of the west. Resultantly, by mid 19<sup>th</sup> century Lucknow often reminded Europeans of magnificent western cities like Oxford, Dresden or Leningard, albeit, with an oriental touch. However, it is interesting to note that behind the veil of cooperation that the Britishers extended to the rulers, but, actually harmed them silently. It is said that the English actually black mailed and coerced the Nawabs into creating such buildings, with the ulterior motive of using them subsequently for their own purposes.

Similarly, the Iron Bridge over the Gomti that was erected, much against the wishes of Saadat Ali Khan and Ghaziuddin Haider, was actually, purported to shorten the distance between the British force and the town, an important military consideration, as well as to vital alternative crossing point should the stone bridge ever fell into enemy hands or be rendered unfit for use.<sup>29</sup>

Every move made by the Company's Government towards the rulers of Avadh had undercurrents of negative motives. In 1836, when Naseeruddin Haider proposed the setting of a college on the British lines, the project was criticized thus: 'If the King takes ever such an

expensive project of building a college, it would bring him credit and renown, while the British would not gain financially."<sup>30</sup> The King's good intention was misinterpreted thus: "He had applied for a professor merely from motives of vanity and to get a 'name' In England by making such a request to the sovereign of great Britain<sup>31</sup>." Finally, when the project was abandoned, the king was abused for his frivolity and accused of showing off.

Claude Martin made a huge fortune at the expense of Nawab Asifuddaula, for example, he purchased different articles in Europe and sold them at 100 to 300 per cent profit lending him at the same time to pay himself at the rate of 3 per cent per month. At one time, the Nawab owed pound 25,000 to Claude Martin.<sup>32</sup> Thus, the Europeans continued to play on the rulers' weakness for western trinkets.

As far as Avadh was concerned, the Company's Government could not hinge on the excuse of annexing it on the basis of non-payment of the subsidies. Therefore, the English started finding faults in the administration of Avadh. In this reference, Sleeman's Report in his 'Journey through Avadh' is very significant. With the pretext of scanning for defects in the administration, he minutely observed the military establishments of the King. The manifestation of his observation surfaced during the war of 1857, when the Britishers took extra precaution at the more sensitive places.

"Criticizing the proposed appointment of John Bristow, a Resident to Faizabad", Richard Barwell says that the objective was "to cement the friendship between the Company and Shujaudduala and to obtain large sums of money, that was said to be due to him." However, after the annexation of Avadh in 1856, an anonymous writer defined this 'friendship of the English to the princes of Avadh as a 'Fatal Friendship.' He says, it was unfortunate that by the gradual encroachment and apparently harmless interferences at the Nawab's Court, the Resident promoted mismanagement and confusion in his dominion and thus afforded plausible excuse and opportunities for the English to take possession of Avadh.

Rosie Llewellyn Jones points out that in Lucknow extra ordinary efforts made by the rulers were meant to placate or impress the British opinion. But, these were foredoomed to failure, because the Nawabs were frequently overtaken by changes in the British ideas. What had

been considered laudable by one generation, was condemned by the next as "proofs of Frivolity of the amusement of the sovereign."<sup>33</sup>

It will not be wrong to say that the English continued to behave like termites, which cankered into the body polity of Avadh till its logical conclusion in the form of annexation. Thus, the impact of the west on Avadh was not so much of a boon. It was certainly baneful, as the English always played a dubious role, that of a feigning friend and a silent foe.

Hoping that the history of Avadh does not remain frozen as an episode of the past, let the generation of the new millenium sincerely nurture our heritage in proper perspective, rather than getting side tracked by the cultural domination of the west.

### References

1. *Glieg: Memoirs of the Life of the Right honourable Warren Hastings*, p. 332. London. 1841.
2. *Rosie Ltwellyn-Jones: A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, the British and the city of Lucknow*, p. 18.
3. *Bengal Political Consultation*, 31 Oct, 1828, Nos. 15, 16.  
The gifts included an elaborate golden bed, curtains, embroidered Lucknow slippers, a Persian sword with jewel set hilt, which was purchased by Asifuddaulla at the cost of Rs. 40,000, valuable sword belt sash and sword boxes covered with thousands of jewels.
4. H.A. Qureshi: *Nawab Wazir* (unpublished thesis) Ali, pp. 24-28.
5. *Ann. Deane: A Tour through the upper provinces of Hindustan*, p. 103, London, 1823.
6. *King of Avadh to Resident*, 20 July 1833, *Bengal Political Consultations*, 16<sup>th</sup> August 1833, No. 32.
7. In fact he had five European tutors whose names are given in Knighton: *Private life of an Eastern King* (Naseeruddin Haidar) and also in W.H. Sleeman: *A Journey through Avadh*.
8. K.B. Saiyyad Abu Muhammad: *Some Autographs of king Naseer-uddin Haider*, *Journal of the U.P. historical Socieity*, Vol 1, 12 July 1939, pp. 40-48.
9. *Sarfaraz-ud-daula was a linguist and a profoundly learned man, the 'Allama' of that period. He was equally proficient in Mathematics and Astronomy.*
10. *Asiatic Annual Register for 1803*, p.3; *William Tennant; Indian Recreation*, Vol. iii, pp. 364-67, Edinburgh 1808.
11. *Major Archer: Tours in Upper India and in parts of the Himalayan Mountains*, vol. 1, p.17.
12. *Michael Fisher: A clash of cultures: Avadh, the British and the Mughals*, p. 132, Delhi 1987; *Tasadduq Husain, Begmat-e-Avadh*, p.136.
13. Robert, Home, who was employed by the King to design his crown, coronation robes and Court of Arms obtained the actual coronation robe from England.

14. Thomas Twining: *Travels in India a Hundred year ago*, p. 311, *Asiatic Annual Register*, p. 11 (London 1804).
15. Resident to Secretary of Government of India in the Political Department, 7 Febuary 1837, *Foreign Political Consultation*, 27 Febuary, 1837, No. 31.
16. No. 45 Vol. 11, August 1967, pp. 582-607.
17. Tasadduq Husain: *Begmat-e-Avadh*, p 168.
18. *Calcutta Review*, January-June, 1845, P. 78.
19. As per Plates given in Sharer: *Lucknow: The last phase of an oriental culture*, p. 176.
20. Steam Pump House was established for pumping the water from the river Gomti to the canal of Lal Baradary complex for watering the gardens attached to the complex.
21. Rosie Llewellyn Jones: *Engaging Scoundrels-true tales of old Lucknow*, p. 29.
22. F.J.Shore, p.83.
23. A.A. Springer, 'Introduction'.
24. Rosie Llewellyn Jones: *A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, the British and the city of Lucknow*, p.68.
25. *Ibid*, p.18-19.
26. *Ibid*, p.18-132.
27. *Ibid*, p153
28. *Ibid*, p.186.
29. Saadat Ali Khan was very much eager to keep the English Military forces far away from the royal court.
30. Rosie Llewellyn Jones: *A Fatal Friendship*, p.80.
31. *Ibid*, p.80.
32. *Ibid*, pp.18-20.
33. Rosie Llewlin-Jones: *A total Friendship* , p.237.





## AWADH ON THE EVE OF 1857 EVIDENCE OF THE URDU NEWSPAPER, 'TILISM'

Iqbal Husain

The annexation of Awadh in 1856 has been a subject of considerable debate. While a section of British historians and officers justified it alleging the Awadh rulers' 'maladministration' which according to them 'had been ruinous to the people subjected to its tyranny and caprice'<sup>1</sup> the others condemned it.<sup>2</sup> Karl marx termed the annexation as illustrative of the "treacherous and brutal modes of proceedings of the British towards the natives of India..."<sup>3</sup> Marx argued that the annexation was not a sudden decision as Lord Palmerstone, the then foreign secretary, had sent an order in 1830 to Lord William Bentinck, Governor General to annex Awadh.<sup>4</sup> Initially, Palmerstone failed in his attempt and the King Naseeruddin Haider succeeded in acquainting king William IV of England, who was totally ignorant of his plan. In 1837, when Palmerstone's second term as Foreign Secretary began, he revived the scheme through Auckland, the then Governor General, and the succeeding Governor generals kept on working on Palmerstone's policy. In this regard, Dalhousie's own statement is decisive. Writing to Board on 18<sup>th</sup> September 1848, he expressed his intention of disposing of the two kingdoms-Oudh and Hyderabad: "Both are on the high road to be taken under our management— not into our possession; and before two years are over I have no doubt they will be managed by us".<sup>5</sup> But Dalhousie was unable to find a pretext for annexation and admitted that the Awadh court "would't offend or quarrel with us , and it will take any amount of kicking without being rebellious".<sup>6</sup> However , Awadh was annexed despite its loyalty and long history of faithful relationship with the British.

The annexation of Awadh left trail of misery for the royal families, the nobility and the people; it destroyed a culture and civilization, which had been nurtured with great care by the rulers with the help of its million toiling subjects irrespective of their

religious affiliations. The effects of annexation has been discussed in some details by the historians like Charles Ball, Malleson and others. But for how the annexation and its consequences appeared to the people of Awadh immediately during its aftermath, we may turn to an Urdu weekly 'Tilism' Lucknow. It is perhaps one of the earliest contemporary news-weeklies, which provides first hand information of the period.

Tilism was edited by Moulvi Mohammed Yaqub, a member of the family of Firangi Mahal scholars. Its first issue came out on 25<sup>th</sup> July 1856 i.e. about 5½ months after the annexation. The last issue was published on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1857, on the eve of the mutiny. Thus, the period of publication of the Tilism covers the span between the annexation of Awadh and the out-break of the 1857 rebellion.

A complete file of Tilism is not available in Indian Libraries. A copy of one issue of Tilism is found in the National Archives, New Delhi. Some copies of it are reported to be available in the Libraries of Osmania University, Hyderabad and the Urdu Institute of the Anjuman-I Islam, Bombay. Fortunately, Library of the Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University, has been able to acquire a complete file (except issue no. 37) through the courtesy of the late Mufti Mohammad Raza Ansari of Firangi Mahal, Lucknow. In view of the importance of Tilism from the historical point of view, the writer of this paper had introduced it to the Indian History Congress Session, 1976 held at Calicut.<sup>7</sup>

The editor of Tilism seems to have enjoyed cordial relations with the British officers including Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of Lucknow, and his subordinate officers.<sup>8</sup> By and large, the reports published in the Tilism were impartial and did not spare even the British officers if they were found involved in undesirable acts. The Tilism seems to have earned a good reputation within the short span of its existence and its subscribers (whose names it printed) were found in Rampur, Delhi, Banaras, Lahore, Gwalior, Alwar and other places. It was also being subscribed to by a number of British officers, the surviving nobility of Awadh, family members of the deposed king Wajid Ali Shah, the Rajas of Banaras, Alwar and the Nawab of Rampur.

The Tilism seems to have escaped notice of most scholars working on the Awadh history,<sup>9</sup> though it contains considerable

information, which throws light on the British administration, its achievements and failures during the people's general reaction to the new rulers. Since it is not possible to discuss everything in a small paper like this, some reports published there are especially selected for shedding light on the conditions prevailing in Awadh in the first year of the direct British rule.

# I

Soon after the annexation, the new government thought it essential to disband the army and its auxiliary forces maintained by Wajid Ali Shah for obvious reasons. The new government proceeded with caution, but, perhaps without much consideration to the fate of the families whose bread-earners were to be rendered jobless. The Tilism reported "After the annexation, the Awadh army was subjected to retrenchment and most of the troopers were paid off with their salaries. The Company's government ordered the raising of three new battalions, one each under Captain Daly (spelt 'Duhli' in Tilism), Captain Hardinge and Gall.<sup>10</sup> Thereafter, the servants of the deposed king were given the option to join the Company government services. Specially the Turk cavalry and those who were serving with their own horses were repeatedly asked to give their assent. Only two hundred of them agreed to serve; the rest refused to join.

*"Now Harding Sahib is removing one hundred and fifty of them. Coming to know of this move, the men were quite upset and appeared before Harding seeking to know their fault for which they were being removed. They valued that neither they were lazy nor ever shirked from their responsibilities".*

Harding kept quiet and did not reply. This news was reported to the Chief Commissioner, who set up a Committee of enquiry into the affair. The Enquiry committee held them innocent but they could not be taken back due to the enmity of Hardinge. Now the whole case has been referred to the Chief Commissioner for consideration. Let us see what orders come forth. In the same way, in all the old battalions retrenchment is being done and new recruits are being taken"<sup>11</sup> The way the British authorities were treating the armed personnel of the deposed king clearly indicated their policy not to retain them in the army. The Tilism on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1856 published the following item:

*"On 29<sup>th</sup> July, 1856, Captain Gall lined up 250 horse-men of the king's*

*cavalry, who had been appointed after much persuasion, and announced that the Government intended not to maintain horses in the battalion and directed them to deposit rupees one hundred and fifty so that they could be supplied with mares. Those, who would not pay the money, be removed from service. All of them expressed their difficulties and inability in paying the money as there was no buyer for their horses".<sup>12</sup>*

On 12<sup>th</sup> August 1856, Captain Gall reiterated his earlier orders asking those to leave who had not paid rupees one hundred and fifty. The other battalions like Tircha, Banka and Turk horsemen received similar orders.<sup>13</sup> Consequently 67 horsemen were removed from Capt. Gall's battalion. The rest were to face the same fate.<sup>14</sup> The Tilism further reported that orders had been issued in the Moosa Bagh cantonment giving option to the troopers of Akhtari and Nadri battalions<sup>15</sup> to leave service by the end of August 1856 failing which their resignation would not be accepted and they would have to obey orders of posting anywhere at any place. This order caused great anxiety to the sepoys.<sup>16</sup> The policy of retrenchment of the old servants of the king's army, including retainers and other palace servants, led to acute unemployment. It proved to be a severe blow to the service class.<sup>17</sup> By an estimate about 87,000 persons were rendered jobless, who used to receive 83 lakh rupees per annum in salaries, which maintained their families during the reign of Wajid Ali Shah.<sup>18</sup> According to Tilism, of the 83 lakh rupees, eleven, lakh forty nine thousand rupees were paid to the king's personal servants alone.<sup>19</sup> The removal of old servants caused serious situation in the city of Lucknow, where there was an almost a sudden spurt of robberies, dacoities and other crimes.<sup>20</sup>

## II

In Awadh, revenue farming had become a common feature from the days of Ghaziuddin Haider. The Mustajirs (farmers) wrought havoc in the economy of the Kingdom of Awadh. Some of the farmers were also Ta'lluqudars. From the pages of Tilism, it is evident that the Talluquadars had adopted a peculiar technique in obtaining the land rights from the zamindars. Misusing their superior powers, the Talluquadars in league with the 'Amils increased the jama' (revenue) on the zamindars. When the zamindars failed to pay the jama' (revenue) on to me, the ta'lluquadars stood their surety, paying up the government demand. With this technique, the zamindars fell into

the trap of the ta'alluqadars and within two or three years were compelled to sell or mortgage their lands to the ta'alluqadars.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the ta'alluqadars appropriated the rights of the zamindars and held them under their control through their armed retainers.<sup>22</sup> This, in turn, led to general discontent among the zamindars and engendered conflicts with the ta'alluqadars. In this regard, the example of Bakhtawar Singh and his family is noteworthy. By virtue of their close connections with the British agent and the Awadh rulers, the family became very powerful and ultimately played a vital role in the destruction of old zamindars and some smaller ta'alluqadars in Awadh.<sup>23</sup> It is estimated that, by 1840, Bakhtawar Singh and his family controlled land revenue of one crore and thirty lakhs rupees collected in the kingdom.<sup>24</sup> Revenue farming thus adversely affected the kingdom of Awadh. *Tilism* dated 1<sup>st</sup> August, 1856 reported the British government's concern over making a fresh settlement for three years. On 8<sup>th</sup> August 1856, it reported that the government had previously issued orders to make the settlement with the present occupants in the office. It was also announced to decide the settlement dispute later on, for which dates were to be notified. The ejected zamindars were to produce documents and after enquiry necessary action was to be taken. The *Tilism* further reported that according to the orders, agreement deeds were to be filed, and the present occupants were, therefore, quite happy. Subsequently, however, the government proposed to restore the ejected zamindars if they paid higher amount than that settled with the ijaradars (farmers).<sup>25</sup>

The files of *Tilism* are replete with the news of exploitations by the mustajirs or ijaradars, who were doing brisk business through obtaining markets, ferry crossings, tah-bandi or bazars, etc., on farm from the new government. They also realized<sup>26</sup> other cesses, which were officially forbidden by the government.

Since the ta'alluqadars were the creation of the Awadh rulers and their loyalty to the deposed king Wajid Ali Shah was understandable, the British government sought now to win over the confidence of the zamindars by issuing a number of orders with a view to restoring them to their lands reducing the power of the ta'alluqadars.<sup>27</sup> The *Tilism* of 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1856 published a news that under the fresh settlement, most of the zamindars filed suits and regained their lost zamindari. The ta'alluqadars, however, managed to retain their fraudulently obtained zamindari rights through a

mutual agreement with the ousted zamindars by reducing the jama.

### III

One of the British pretexts for the annexation of Awadh was its so-called mal-administration. Yet, it is quite interesting that the Tilism in its issue of 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1856 published a report copying from another Urdu Weekly 'Doorbin', exposing the hallowness of the British claim citing numerous examples of mal-administration in the territories under British rule.<sup>28</sup> The report further reveals how Nanpapa, a flourishing pargana, which in Wajid Ali Shah's reign paid an annual revenue of 3 lakh rupees, had become desolate and unproductive due to the harshness in revenue realization, causing a flight of the peasants to other places.<sup>29</sup> Tilism further quotes a number of examples of officials and their agents 'inhuman and brutal attitude towards the people, which caused destruction to a large number of villages, and loss of life and property to the people. The report concludes by saying that if the annexation of a country could be justifiable, would it be wrong if a powerful government seeing the mal-administration of Company's government, despite all Treaties and Agreements, seizes power and ejects it.<sup>30</sup>

### IV

The annexation had a severe economic impact on Awadh. On the one hand, it led to unemployment and soaring prices of all the merchandise including foodgrains and other commodities, on the other hand it destroyed the indigenous industries, specially of cotton. Persons employed in various trade had to face the evil effects of the annexation. Kamaluddin Haider provides an insight in this regard:

*"In this city (Lucknow) thousands are unemployed and confined to houses..."*

The city is extremely unlucky where there is no value assigned to any profession and trade, or the people of that place regard it derogatory to adopt any profession. As is the tradition of every country, India had also its small and big trade. With the sale of sullam of Aliabad in other countries, the traders of Lucknow used to earn double or treble profits. Similarly those who possessed small capital were also prospering with this trade. But that trade, altogether confined to small and particular commodities, has now been ruined. Thus the search for subsistence became confined to employment. Now it has also come to an end."<sup>31</sup> The increase in prices of essential

commodities caused gloom and desolation in Lucknow and added to popular misery.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps the worst affected class was of the weavers, if the example of Mubarakpur (Azamgarh) has anything to suggest. "The annexation has also greatly affected the indigenous manufactures particularly the cloth industry at Mubarakpur. The English (Sahib) Magistrate was informed that the weavers of Mubarakpur are migrating in large number. He asked the thanadar of Mohammadabad to report the number of emigrants and causes of their desertion. The thanadar reported that the weavers are suffering from hunger and they have no means of subsistence. One thousand weavers have already emigrated with their families to Mecca, since there are no buyers of cloth in Lucknow and they are not in a position to meet their expenses. Their profession declined, hence they migrated".<sup>33</sup>

After the annexation of Awadh, the British Administration had to face problems created by unscrupulous people and some of their officers. The *Tilism* published a number of reports, which indicate how many unscrupulous persons were fraudulently seizing money and property. Here only one report is reproduced by way of illustration: From the date of commencement of the British administration in the city, mischief mongers are ruling the roast. A number of suits were filed against the Begams in the Civil and Criminal Courts. The peons created a scene on the deorhis of the Begams. First the maid servant (Mughlani) of Zohra Mahal Sahiba was summoned to the Court. The matter was reported to Seht-ud daulah who informed the Chief Commissioner. Consequently, the Chief Commissioner had to issue orders forbidding the peons and barqandazes to call on the King's deorhis, directing that in case of any suit, the dispute was to be pursued through Seht-ud daulah and Capt. Hays. Nawab Husamud daulah refused to honour orders of any officer except those of the Chief Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner.<sup>34</sup>

Apart from this, the attitude of some of the British officers towards the Indians was highly discriminatory and full of racial prejudices. In one of its issues, the *Tilism* reported that an English gentleman carelessly rode a horse and was involved in an accident with a mail carrier causing serious injuries to the latter. The fault of the gentleman was ignored and the poor mail carrier was arrested. Reporting the entire incident, the *Tilism* concludes with the saying: Hakim hare to munh men mare (if the ruler loses a game), he slaps

you on the face).<sup>35</sup>

In another incident, the Deputy Commissioner of Daryabad fatally wounded a Brahman when the latter attempted to save himself by showing a bamboo stick to the former's dog. The matter was enquired into by the Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner was by way of punishment, transferred to another place.<sup>36</sup> Such state of affairs seems to have become a common feature in Awadh. The Tilism on 16<sup>th</sup> January 1857 published a report with sarcasm: "There is the government of the English in the city. Everywhere is crying of help us, save us."<sup>37</sup>

## VII

One of the noticeable features after Annexation was the British attitude towards the Begams and the new ruler's greed for plunder on one pretext or the other. On 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1856, Tilism published a report that Carnegi, the City Administrator, came to the palace of Alamgir Mirza Khurram enquiring about the King's artillery, weapons, tents, etc, reportedly stored in Macchi Bhawan. The Mirza told him that his palace was part of Macchi Bahawan and there was neither the king's artillery nor tents there. Carnegi pressed him to disclose the places where these could have been stored. The Mirza expressed ignorance. Thereafter the tahsildars (keepers) were summoned, who, out of sheer fear, disclosed the places where barrels of the guns, materials made of glasses and tents were stored. Thereafter, the British pressure for the vacation of palaces was intensified. Tilism on 29<sup>th</sup> August reported that the Chief Commissioner went to Nusrat Bagh and warned Qaim Ali and darogha Mir Wajid Ali, the daroghas of Sultan Jahan Manzil for not vacating the palaces in violation of their orders. He even threatened to lock up all the palaces. The daroghas pleaded that those palaces were in the occupation of the Begams and their vacation was not possible without the orders from the King (Wajid Ali Shah). The Chief Commissioner fixed 14<sup>th</sup> August 1856 as the last date for vacating the palaces. His pressure for vacation of the palaces kept on mounting. He even ignored the pleas of the Begams that the month of Moharram was approaching. The Chief Commissioner finally forced vacation of the palaces overnight and placed English guards there. The Begams had to vacate the palaces hurriedly and to take shelter in Qaisar Bagh. The Tilism on 5<sup>th</sup> September published the details of how the Begams



got themselves accommodated in the various parts of the Qaiser Bagh.<sup>38</sup> Soon after the vacation of the palaces, the British pressure on Miftah-ud daulah mounted to force him to hand over the keys of the treasury kept there. Miftah-ud daulah could not sustain the pressure for long and the Chief Commissioner obtained the keys of 19 treasuries, where British guards were now deployed.<sup>39</sup> In the beginning, the British officials pretended to prepare an inventory of all the material available assuring to keep everything in tact. Soon they disclosed their intention of selling or auctioning the perishable material and to seize the proceeds.<sup>40</sup> This soon turned to be a regular auction of valuable articles stored since the time of Safdarganj.<sup>41</sup>

### VIII

The annexation of Awadh had its evil effects on the social and economic life of the people. *Tilism* in one of its issues reported that the off springs of Nawab Shujaud-daulah were selling away their spare house-hold goods.<sup>42</sup> a sad incident unthinkable for the Awadh Nawabs and their family.

The *Tilism* in one of its issues reminded its readers of the Lucknow's Moharram tradition. From the very first date of Moharram, the Imambaras used to be illuminated in the nawabi days; these were now sunk in darkness under the British regime. Sweets and cereals used to be generously served to the satisfaction of the destitutes, who used to flock to Lucknow from distant places.<sup>43</sup> Due to the changed circumstances, the doors of generosity were closed. The *Tilism* lamented that the gloom spreading over Husainabad was heart-breaking. People wept over the deposition of Wajid Ali Shah, as their economic distress was due to the British rule. In utter helplessness, they prayed for the return of Wajid Ali Shah- the Jan-e-Alam and bewailed the prevailing state of affairs.<sup>44</sup>

### IX

People's anger over the annexation of Awadh can be seen from the pages of *Tilism*. On 19<sup>th</sup> September 1856 the *Tilism* published a report that some people resolved to recruit men and attack the British authorities on an appointed date. Secret recruitment began and a large number of recruits on the condition of oath of loyalty were enlisted. The tenth day of Maharram had been fixed for the uprising but the secret was leaked out and the British authorities in Lucknow became active and alert. An enquiry was instituted to trace the brain

behind the whole scheme. Qadir Ali Shah, a saint was identified as the one who was enlisting people through some of the employees of the elephant stable of Malika Jahan. Mahmood Ali Khan, the Commander and brother-in-law of Nawab Ali Naqi Khan was also identified as one of the instigators, who had employed a number of persons. A number of recruits were arrested and they confessed that nearly 12,000 persons had till then been employed for the purpose. On 17<sup>th</sup> September 1856 two British Officers visited the palace of Mohsin-ud-daulah for further investigations. They held talks with him twice and later on placed guards on his house.<sup>45</sup> The Nawab, however, expressed ignorance about any secret conspiracy against the British.<sup>46</sup> Tilism also refers to the activities of Ahmadullah Shah in Lucknow.<sup>47</sup>

In the foregoing pages, only some of the examples extracted from the pages of Tilism have been quoted by way of illustration. A detailed study of Tilism would reveal how the British administered Awadh, what was the composition of population of the city of Lucknow as the pages of Tilism also published a ward-wise census of houses, and the professions of their occupants. Other reports concern causes of peoples unrest, the proliferation of a number of gangs of crooks, hooligans and cheats, corruption prevailing in the government, destruction of old buildings in the name of widening of roads or saving the lives of the people from the fall of old buildings. Since Tilism was copying news from other popular Urdu weekly newspapers, one can find interesting news appearing in its pages for distant places like Bombay, Calcutta (including the activities of Wajid Ali Shah and the queen mother Janab Alia Malika- 'Aliya, who had gone to London), and so on. The Tilism also published news of the uprisings of the sepoys at Amausi, which, in a way, silently proclaimed the beginning of the first war of independence in Awadh.

### References

1. Charles Ball: *The History of Indian Mutiny*, vol. I, reprint, New Delhi, 1981, p. 147.
2. *Dacoitie in Excelsie*.
3. Marx and Engels: *on Colonialism*, Moscow (VIIth edition), 1978, pp. 189-90. (Hereafter cites 'On Colonialism').
4. *On Colonialism*, p. 187.
5. J.G.A. Baird: *Private Letters of the Marques of Dalhousie*, London 1910, p. 33 (Hereafter quoted as Baird).
6. Baird, p. 344.

7. U.P. Historical Review, Allahabad, Vol. II, 1983.
8. Ibid.
9. Rudrangshu Mukherje: Awadh in Revol, 1857-58-A Study of Popular Resistance, Delhi 1984, does take notice of Tilism.
10. Tilism, 25 July 1856.
11. Tilism, 25 July 1856.
12. Tilism, 1 August 1856.
13. Tilism, 15 August 1856.
14. Tilism, 22 August 1856.
15. These battalions were raised by Wajid Ali Shah.
16. Tilism, 22 August 1856.
17. Tilism, 15 August 1856.
18. Kamaluddin Haider, Sawanihat Salatin-i Awadh, Nawal Kishore, Vol. II, pp. 51-52 (Hereafter cited as Haider).
19. Tilism, 1 August 1856.
20. Tilism, 8 August, 19 August and 26 December 1856, 16 January and 6 March 1857.
21. Tilism 8, 15, 22 August 1856; Lal Ji: Mirat-ul Auza', Aligarh Ms, ff. 9a-11a. (Hereafter quoted as Mirat-ul Auza).
22. 'Mirat-ul Auza', ff. 9a-11a.
23. Sleeman in Oudh, ed. Reeves, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 64, 66, 71, 82, 85; Mirat-ul Auza', f. 3b.
24. Haider, Vol. II, p. 94: Najmul Ghani: Tarikh-I Awadh, Vol. IV, p. 293.
25. Tilism, 8 August 1856.
26. Ibid.
27. Tilism, 1 August, 8 August and 15 August 1856.
28. Tilism, 22 August 1856.
29. Tilism, 22 August 1856.
30. Ibid.
31. Haider, Vol. II, pp. 51-52.
32. Tilism, 8, 15 August, 19, 26 December 1856, 16 January, 6 March 1857.
33. Tilism, 29 August 1856.
34. Tilism, 6 February 1857.
35. Tilism, 16 January 1857.
36. Tilism, 10 October 1856, 10 April 1857.
37. Tilism, 16 January 1857.
38. Tilism, 22 August 1856.
39. According to the report published in the Tilism, Nawab Khursheed Laqa Amir Mahl got residence at the upper floor, Nawab Khursheed Mahal Sahiba was fixed in the Shah Burj, Bazm Afroz Nawab Dilruba Mahal Sahiba was adjusted in the Shikoh Manzil, Nawab Waqar Mahal Sahiba was settled in Wazir Manzil. Anjum-as Sultan nawab Zohra Mahal Sahiba found place in Akhtarpassand, Mumtaz-ul Sultan Gulzar Mahal Sahiba was adjusted in the sehanchi and verandah north of Shikoh Mazil, Nawab Khirad Mahal Sahiba and Nawab Sultan Jahan and Nawab Saiyeda Mahal Sahiba Murnna, were

*placed in the Mahalsara of Moti, Nawab Farkhunda Mahal sahiba was placed in Sadr-I mubarak, Nawab Imtiyaz Mahal Sahiba in Padshah Manzil, Malika Mehrtan Afsarun Nisa Nawab Nishat Mahal Sahiba was lodged in the house-kachehri Muzaffar Ali, Nawab yasmin Mahal Sahiba Mahram-ul-Sultan was accommodated in the Mahalsara of Darogha Haidari, Habshans (Negro women) 5. Of these three were kept in the house of Etemad-ud Daulah and two in the house of Fateud Daulah. Tilism concluded the details with the remark that the people were shocked and bewailed helplessly over this state of affairs.*

40. *Tilism, 5 September 1856.*
41. *Tilism, 19 September 1856, 26 September, 3 October, 10 October, 17 October, 31 October 1856.*
42. *Tilism, 29 August 1856.*
43. *Tilism, 12 September 1856.*
44. *Tilism, 29 August 1856.*
45. *Tilism, 18,26 September 1856.*
46. *Tilism, 26 September 1856.*
47. *Tilism, 5 December, 12 December 1856.*



## AVADH ON THE EVE OF ANNEXATION

Roshan Taqui

James Outram joined on 4<sup>th</sup> December 1854 AD as representative of Governor General and Resident at Lucknow with the aim to demolish the king of Avadh. Immediately he started a drive to weaken the king. He based his policy on Sleeman's book: "A journey through the kingdom of Avadh" and prepared a case against the king, showing the worsening condition of law and order and unpopularity of the Government. But as per his own records, which were made the part of the Gazetteer of Avadh published in 1869, has given a picture just contrary to his policies and report.

The employees of the king in the army were 87000 and total expenditure yearly on army alone was Rs. 83 lacs. The details of the Fauj (Army) and men in administration was as follows.

Four Brigade Fauj (Army)

Fifty two Battalion Najeeb and Tilange

3500 Sawars (horsemen) excluding young turks.

14000 employees of Government to maintain Lucknow and approximately 2000 policemen attached to city Kotwali and Nakas (crossings).

In fact, taking advantage of the agreement of 1837 with the Company, the article-4, which states that the army columns can be raised as per requirement for the defence of Avadh, but the expenditure must be restricted to 16 lakhs per annum, the king started strengthening the military system, and increased expenditure upto 83 lakhs per year, which raised the eyebrows of Outram.

As per planning, the king raised several new regiments and himself attending to parade grounds daily from 5 in the morning to 12 in the noon<sup>2</sup>. In his order the king wrote that new erected columns should not be stationary, but in moving.

*"Hue Khoob Faujon ka bhi intezam  
Hua hukam bahre madarul Muham*

*Kisi shahar men fauj sakin na ho  
Har ek mah usko badalte raho.*<sup>3</sup>

(New army columns raised in a big way, the regular orders hereby placed. Army should not be stationary in any district, change it every month).

On Thursday, 7<sup>th</sup> February 1856, Avadh was annexed to the British Empire. Kamaluddin Haider, the contemporary historian, wrote:

"On the day of Thursday February 7<sup>th</sup>, the city was nausatic, citizens of Lucknow even in small lanes and roads were waiting for the direction of struggle, most of them were collected from Khas Bazar to Baillie Guard"<sup>4</sup>.

The army built up on the eve of annexation, was as follows.<sup>5</sup>

#### Resale (Regiments)

Sl. No.	Name of Regiment	Name of Commanding Officer
1.	Maimana-e-shahi	Yasuf Ali Khan
2.	Maisara-e-shahi	Abdul Bari Khan Qandhari
3.	Asadi	Syed Ali Absar
4.	Muzaffari	Ali Baksh Khan
5.	Tahawwuri	Tahawwur Khan
6.	Mansoori	Zulfiqar ud daula
7.	Akbari	Mohammad Azhar
8.	Banka	Dayanat ud daula
9.	Tirchha	Dayanat ud daula
10.	Ghazanfari	Miftah ud daula
11.	Sulemani	Ahsan ud daula
12.	Khaqani	Ahsan ud daula
13.	Jangi	Chand Khan
14.	Habshiyani	Ali Naqui Khan
15.	Zamboor Kachyan	Ghulam Husain Khan "This regiment had magazine of several guns with camels and elephants."

**Palton - (Platoon)**

Sl. No.	Name of Platoon	Commanding Officer
1.	Huzoori	Raja Thakur Singh Trivedi
2.	Khas Qadeem	Kaneez ud daula
3.	Janbaz	Husain Ali Captan
4.	Fateh Mubarak	Inayat ullah
5.	Akhtari	Mir Irshad Ali
6.	Wajidi	Haider Ali
7.	Dal	Raushan Ali Khan
8.	Ghanghor	Abul Husain Captan
9.	Sikandari	Pisar Husain Ali Khan
10.	Jan Nisar	Shitla Baksh
11.	Zafar Mubarak	Fida Husain Khan
12.	Gulabi	Haji Husain Ali
13.	Jahan Shah I	Raja Suba Singh
14.	Jahan Shah II	Imdad Husain
15.	Nusrat	Captain Barlow
16.	Adakush	Mumtaz Khan
17.	Dushman Kob	Janbaz Khan
18.	Ada Shigaf	Mumtaz Khan, Gubbins
19.	Jamiat I	William Hersey Sardar Khan
20.	Jamiat II	Alexander Orr. Imtiaz Khan
21. to 56.	36 Paltons	Pajoda and Najeel with Indian Armoury

**Toap Khana (Magzene of Guns)**

Sl.No.	Name of Toap Khana	Incharge
1.	Toap Khana Kalan Atish Fishan	Sadiq ud daula Bahadur
2.	Toap Khana Balaganj Batish Afghan	Mir Ferzand Ali
3.	Toap Khana Inayati	Azam Ali Beg
4.	Toap Khana Role Gola Afghan	Raushan Ali Khan
5.	Toap Khana Khusrovi Qahar Afghan	Musharraf Husain
6.	Toap Khana Raood Afza	Maqbool ud daula
7.	Toap Khana Hohi Kalan	Mohammad Akbar
8.	Toap Khana Hohi Nisa	Bechu Beg

Note: The number of guns in a toap khana ranges from 3 to 11 and size from 6 pounder to 19 pounder.

Apart of this, a number of 'Jamiat' (Companies) for variety of works during the time of battle, were also on the pay role of Royal defence office. The king has himself given a detailed account, of his defence capability in 'Huzn-e-Akhtar'.

Badshah Begum, wife of king Ghaziuddin Haider, who, after stranged relations with her son Naseeruddin Haider, had left the palace Chhatar Manzil and shifted to Moosa Bagh, a palace on the west corner of the city, had raised a force of black women, physically strong and not less than a height of six feet. These women hailed from Habash, a place in north Africa. They were trained and called "Black-cats".

These black cats were in the special force of the king and fought bravely till death on 16<sup>th</sup> November 1857 at Sikandar Bagh and Shahnajaf Morcha. Their strategic fight has proved the military genius of their trainer.



In early fifties, a grand workshop and factory of guns was established at Barood Khana, which, in a short span of four-five years, produced 127 guns for use in Avadh Royal Force (Shahi Fauj).

### **Great Nursery of Sepoys**

William Sleeman had warned Dalhousie that annexation of Avadh would lead to revolt in the Bengal Army, in which there were only Avadh sapos, for Avadh was "the great Nursery of the sapos. And in that nursery, the sepoys had formerly been privileged class, with far more hope of having their grievances, listened to attentively in Lucknow than their civil relation."<sup>7</sup>

William Knighton had visited Lucknow during the regime of King Naseeruddin Haider said that compare Lucknow to Dresden, Moscow and Cairo, but in my opinion these strange things were not seen in those cities that were in Lucknow. Everyone had arms on his body. Even a trader did move in the market with a sabre hanging by the side of his waste. Soldiers riding on rhino were often seen in the city. Sepoys were of high calibre and they were pure professional in their job.

Not only Avadh but sepoys for Bengal Native infantry were recruited from Avadh. The area from which the sepoys of the Bengal Army were always referred to in a very general terms. Such as, "The Bengal Sepoys were largely drawn from Avadh" (R.M. Martin - The Indian Empire)", the sepoys of the Bengal Army came Chiefly from Avadh "(Patrick Grant) and Butler called Avadh the 'Great nursery for the armies of British in India" (Southern Oude, p. 156).

Though politically under the rule of Nawabs, Avadh was peopled principally with Brahmins and Rajputs, who furnished the bulk of the Bengal Native infantry before the mutiny..... In Avadh there was not a single agricultural family, which was not represented by at least one of its members in the Indian Army.<sup>8</sup>

"If the Hindus formed the bulk of the Bengal Native Infantry, the Musalmans Commanded the majority in the Bengal Native cavalry".<sup>9</sup>

"The compilation of 7<sup>th</sup> irregular cavalry as on May 1, 1857 may be treated as a numerical indication. The composition stood as follows."<sup>10</sup>

Mohammadan (Syed & Pathan)	392
Mohammadan Rajput (Raj Muslim)	82
Brahmins	62
Rajputs	28
Sikhs	20
Hindus of Inferior description	02
<b>Total</b>	<b>586</b>

Yet, in the available documents, which offer a fairly detailed account of the extent of recruitment from Avadh, the descriptive roll of revolting non-commissioned officers and sepoys of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Native Infantry is given. This list provides the names, castes, villages and parganas of 280 men." Of these, only 14 men (i.e. 5 percent) came from the districts that were not in Avadh. Of the remaining, 266 men, who came from Avadh, 140 (i.e. 53%) were from southern Avadh and others were from Lucknow. 29 regiments of Native Infantry and cavalries were those in which about 85% of sepoys were Avadh soldiers.

The soldiers of Lucknow used to get training not only in one fight. They got trained in fencing, swording, riding, firing and other individual kinds of fights<sup>12</sup>. Henry Lawrence was so impressed with the soldiers of Avadh that he wrote to Governor General Lord Canning that even the Jamadars of above 40 years of age were very good soldiers, unmatched gunners and good riders. He also told Lieutenant Asbe:

"We should be lucky to have such men as native officers in our regular battalion....."<sup>13</sup>

In the same letter, he wrote to Lord Canning:

"If 50 or 100 men are to be transferred in a nucleus, a regiment of corps, second to none in India, can be raised."<sup>14</sup>

Any country is considered strong if its army is highly trained and prepared and its economy is sound. On the eve of annexation Avadh was financially sound and its market economy was safe.

The government economy was mainly based on land revenue. The land was divided in four types (i) Khalisa land (ii) Huzoor Tehsil (iii) Ijara land and (iv) Amani. All types of land was available for irrigation either from tank or from shallow wells, for which human

labour and bullocks were employed. The cost of tank irrigation was calculated eleven annas (Rs. 0.70) per acre. The land was good, fertile and the farmers were laborious, the production was increasing, harvest by harvest. Secondly, the export of food grains was banned during the regime of last king, which was fervently allowed during the regime of King Ghaziddin Haider and Naseeruddin Haider. The exchange of food grains in lieu of other essential items was, however, allowed with the permission of Darogha-e-Bangi. Those food grains were cheapest on the eve of annexation. The following statement showing the price of grains at Lucknow, from the year 1835 to 1870 proves the truthness of economy.

Sl. No.	Year AD	Arhar (Sers)/Rs	Barley (Sers)/Rs	Peas (Sers)/Rs	Wheat (Sers)/Rs
1.	1835	27	30	26½	25
2.	1838	25½	29½	23½	17
3.	1841	24½	25½	23½	21
4.	1842	32	32½	29½	25½
5.	1845	26½	31½	24½	21½
6.	1846	27½	28½	24½	21½
7.	1848	28½	33	25½	22½
8.	1850	38	34½	37½	26½
9.	1852	41	59	47½	25
10.	1854	35	46	34	27½
11.	1855	30	44½	29½	28 cheapest
12.	1856	29½	28	29½	20½
13.	1857	24½	27	21½	16½
14.	1870	17½	16½	14½	14½

(Gazetteer of Avadh-1869..)

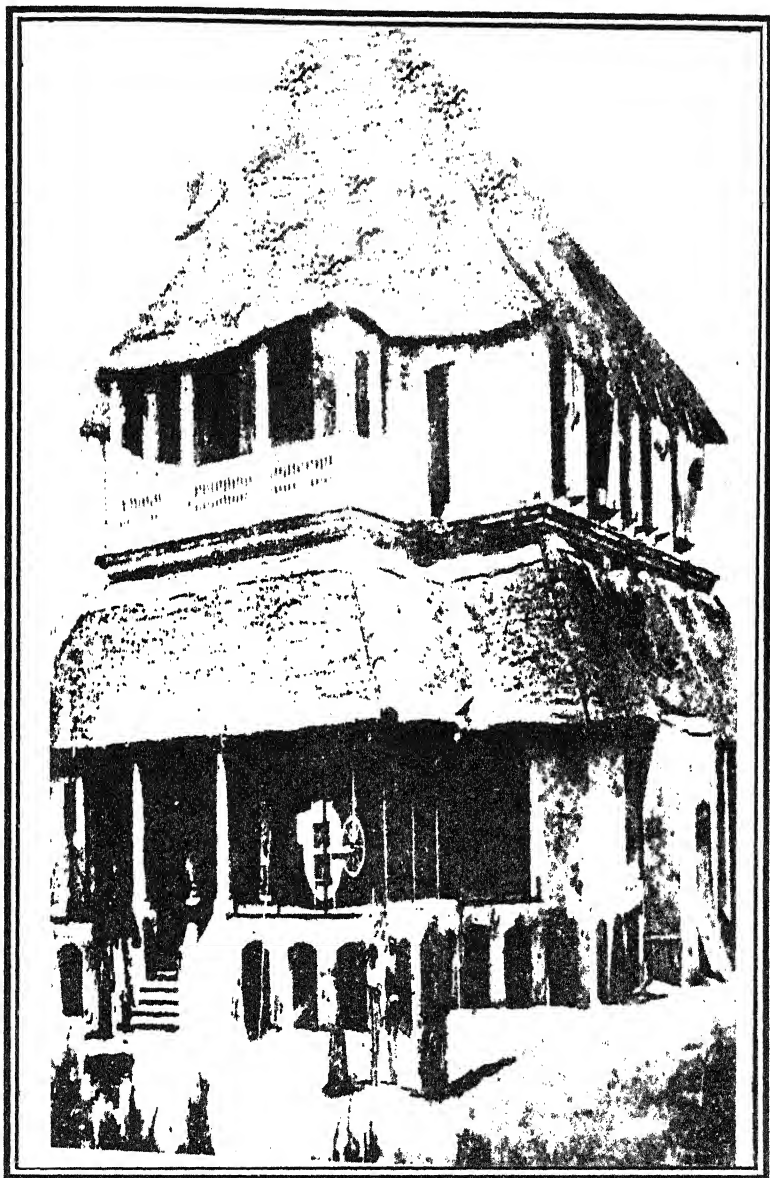
The statement clearly shows that the grains became cheapest in comparison to last fifty years on the eve of annexation. The people were happy and satisfied. The cultural fusion had built a national character, which gave befitting reply to the policies of the East India Company.

"The English have hurt the national feeling and committed acts of breach of civilization. They had to answer them a terrible account, ...They only wanted slaves but they have created spartacusses".

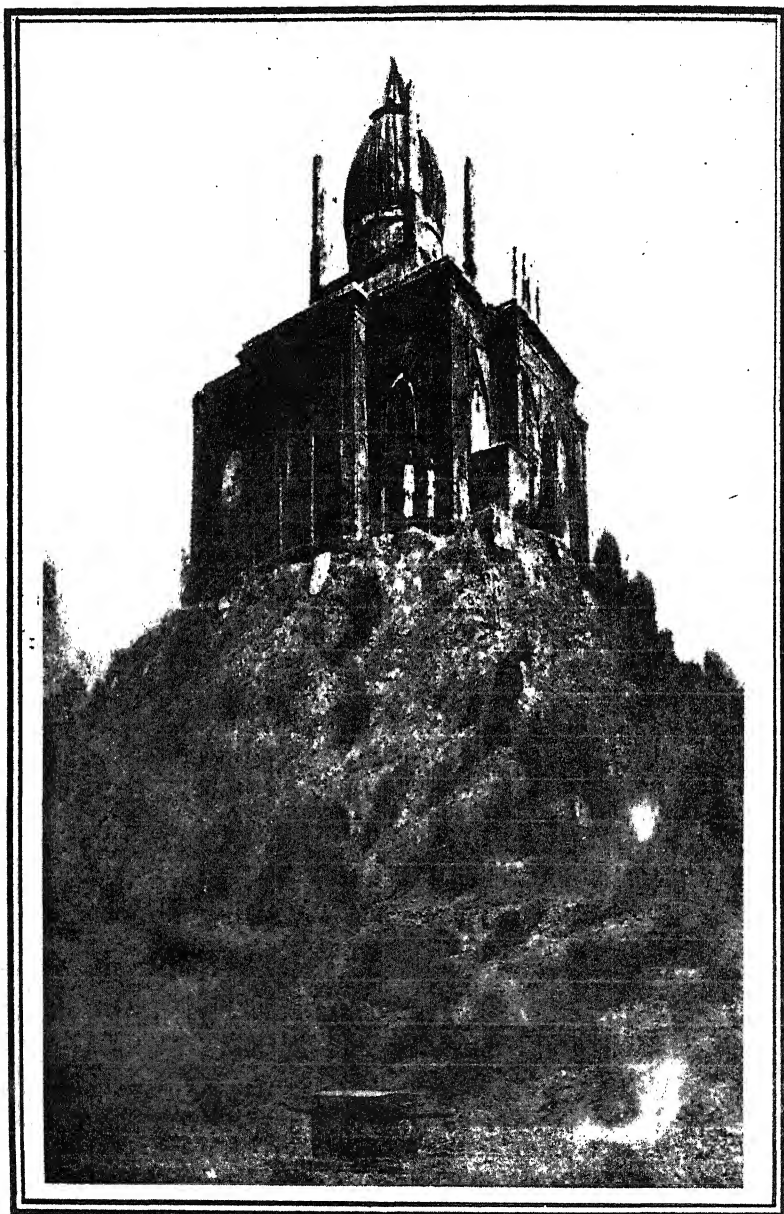
### References

1. *Tarikh-e-Avadh-Vol V*, Najmul Ghani p. 271
2. *Urdu Drama and Stage*, Prof. Masood Hasan Rizvi Adeeb p.14
3. *Huzne Akhtar*, Wajid Ali Shah, edited Amjad Ali Khan, p.91
4. *Qaiser-ut-tawarikh*, Vol. II, Kamaluddin Haider, p. 312
5. *Afzal-ut-Tawarikh (Urdu)*, pp.136 to 142
6. *Huzne Akhtar*, Wajid Ali Shah, edited Amjad Ali Khan pp. 91 to 93.
7. *The Great Mutiny- India 1857*, Allen Lane, p. 72
8. *The Sepoy Mutiny 1857- A.P. Chattopadhyaya*, p. 72
9. *The Sepoy Mutiny 1857- A.P. Chattopadhyaya*, p. 75
10. *Ibid* p. 71
11. *Special Commission of Enquiry-Burhanpur, through Avadh in revolt*, p. 78
12. *Fun-e-sipahgiri*, Mubarak Husain, p. 41
13. *Freedom struggle in Uttar Pradesh Vol.II - Rizvi*, p. 334
14. *Ibid* p.336





BANK'S HOUSE-SITE OF THE PRESENT GOVERNOR HOUSE  
(ONE OF THE MAIN CENTRES OF AVADH FORCES DURING THE STRUGGLE OF 1857-58)



QADAM RASOOL  
(A STRONGHOLD OF AVADH FORCES DURING THE STRUGGLE OF 1857-58)

## GROWTH OF UNANI SYSTEM OF MEDICINE IN AVADH

S.M. K.H. Hamdani

During the period of Nawabs, there were two capitals: the first was Faizabad and second Lucknow, fixed by Nawab Asif-ud-daula in 1775 and continued till the reign of Wajid Ali Shah (1847-1856).

**Famous Hakeems of the Nawabi Era:** A study of the Nawabi period reveals that the following Hakeems (Unani Physicians) were associated with the royal administration:

1. Hakeem Mirza Bachchu
2. Hakeem Mirza Kochak
3. Hakeem Mirza Jaafar
4. Hakeem Mirza Mehdi
5. Mumtaz ud daula Hakeem Medhi Ali Khan
6. Hakeem Mir Murtuza
7. Hakeem Mirza Ali Khan
8. Tabeeb ud daula
9. Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Ali
10. Masih ud daula Mirza Ali Hasan
11. Hikmat ud daula
12. Hakeem Mirza Zafar Ali Khan
13. Hakeem Banda Raza Khan
14. Hakeem Meer Mohammad
15. Hakeem Meer Ali
16. Hakeem Mohammad Yaqoob

Names of these Hakeems find mention in the description of the Nawabs of Avadh (See: Waaquat-e-Salateen-Avadh by Syed Kamaluddin Haider Mashhadi).

Moulvi Mohammad Abdul Haleem Sharar has in "Guzishta

Lucknow" written that famous Hakeems of Delhi started migrating to Avadh during the period of and particularly mentions the period of Nawab Shuja ud daula (1754 to 1775) when all except one or two Hakeems of Delhi came to Avadh. The history of Faizabad also reveals that one or the other Hakeem was always associated with the government. They were given great regard by the administration besides monthly salary and rewards.

During the reign of Nawab Asif ud daula (1775 to 1797 A.D.), Lucknow became the centre of regard and recognition for arts and artists. Many traditional Hakeems of Delhi settled here and in a short span of time, the medicinal art became an attribute of Lucknow, which produced such renowned and envied hakeems such as Hakeem Masih ud daula, Hakeem Shifa ud daula, Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Ali, Hakeem Syed Mohammad Murtuza, Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Kockak, Hakeem Nabba (Nabbaz) and Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Jafar, who were the treasure on the subject. In due course, the Unani system of medicine reached its zenith when rarely a mohalla (locality) could be found without a renowned hakeem. Thousands of clinics (matab) were started in towns and villages around Lucknow. In short, Lucknow produced many famous Hakeems, whose achievements are still remembered. The desertations relating to Nawabs of Avadh contain details about many famous Hakeems and their families. These include Hakeem Shifai Khan, Hakeem Syed Mohammad Asghar Rizvi Isfahani, Hakeem Syed Mohammad Mushtaq, Mumtaz ud daula Hakeem Mehdi Ali Khan, Nawab Hakeem Tafazzul Hasain Khan. Besides the families of Hakeem Masih ud daula, Hakeem Banda, Raza, Hakeem Mirza Kochak, Shifa ud daula, Hakeem Mohammad Ali Nabba Mualy Khan, Hakeem Ali Sharif, Mirza Hainga, Mirza Mohammad Jawad and Hakeem Meeran. These Hakeem families took the medicinal art to its peak in Avadh. The pupils of these Hakeems spread over different cities and regions of India and propagated and extended the philosophy of Lucknow school of medicine. The hakeems of Avadh did not only benefitted the patients by treating them, they also taught the important lessons from the books of medicines and trained them in the diagnosis and medicinal prescriptions. They carved them as expert Hakeems. They also wrote important books and periodicals helpful for students of medicine as well as the practising hakeems, which will continue to benefit the future hakeems also. Some hakeems established schools for teaching medicine. Syed Agha Medhi in "Tareekh-e-Lucknow"



has written that the Nawabs and Kings of Avadh so much promoted and patronized the Unani medicinal art that first Amberganj then Jhawai Tola and lastly Johari Mohalla looked like small territories of Unan (Greece). Lucknow produced many hakeems, who will be remembered for long. Most of the hakeems, who spread over other parts of the country, bowed respectfully before these master physicians. The Unani medicine was promoted significantly by Hakeem Mohammad Yaqoob, Sehatuddaula, Masihuddaula, Hakeem Nabba, Hakeem Kockak and lastly Shifauddaula.

Saadat Hasan Khan, Syed Jalaluddin Haider, alias Agha Hajjoo Sharaf Lucknow, resident of Matia Burj Calcutta has in his 'Masnavi' Afsanai Lucknow' mentioned about famous hakeems of Wajid Ali Shah (1847 - 1856). This masnavi was written in the year 1290H/ 1873 A.D. and published by Nishat Publication, New Brajpur Delhi in 1885 under the supervision of Syed Mahmood Naqvi. The Masnavi mentions the qualities of the following hakeems:

1. Masih ud daula Mirza Ali Hasan Bahadur, Ambassador of Avadh.
2. Tabeeb ud daula
3. Hakeem Meerza Ali
4. Shifa ud daula
5. Sehat ud daula, the yes man of Masih ud daula
6. Hakeem Banda Raza Khan
7. Nawab Hakeem Sarfaraz
8. Hakeem Qasim Ali
9. Hakeem Mohammad Yaqoob

Most of the Hakeems of Lucknow were invited by the Nawabs of Avadh and many of them settled in Mohan, Bilgram, Balrampur, Mahmoodabad, Sandeela, Ghazipur, Zangipur, Jaunpur, Banaras, Khairabad, Daryabad, Zaidpur, and Jalalee. Jalali has also produced many renowned hakeems.

A study of the history of Avadh descriptions, magazines and collections of the prescriptions of Hakeems reveal that famous hakeems belonged to distinguished literary and physician families, who promoted the knowledge and Unani medicinal art through teaching, writing and practice, included the following:

1. **Hakeem Shifai Khan:** A copy of Dastoorul Amal by Shifai Khan

is available in Hakeem Nasir Ali Oriental Library Mysore. He was the famous hakeem of the period of Nawab Shuja ud daula and Nawab Asif ud daula.

2. **Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Asghar Rizvi:** was the Famous Hakeem during the period of Nawab Shuja ud daula.
3. **Hakeem Meer Murtuza:** One Document of his clinic is available in the library of Kashmir University, Srinagar. He was the son of Hakeem Meer Mohammad Asghar Rizvi and guide of Hakeem Mohammad Yagoob.
4. **Muntazim ud daula Hakeem Mehdi Ali Khan:** He established Darul-Shafaa (King's Hospital) in Lucknow in the period of Shah Naseer ud din Haider. This hospital was got evacuated during the British regime and this Unani hospital was shifted to Chowk. After Independence, the Congress regime converted the Darul Shafa into Vidhayak Niwas (Legislators Residence). The Unani Hospital in Chowk also is in poor condition.
5. **Hakeem Nawab Tafazzul Hussain Khan:** Deputy Minister of Avadh during the reign of Asif ud daula was also an expert Hakeem.
6. **Masih ud daula Mirza Ali Khan Bahadar** was the famous Hakeem during the reigns of Asif ud daula and King Naseer ud din Haider. King Ghaziuddin Haider appointed him as Royal Physician.
7. **Hakeem Mirza Muzaffar Husain son of Masihuuddaula:** Chief physician (Tabeeb-e-Ala) of the Royal Unani hospital. He wrote the book Tahqeeqat ul bahia alal nataij al Hasnia mulaqqab ba hidayat ul Atibba. (Research of medicine – secondary results with the name, the guide for practitioners).
8. **Khan Bahadur Hakeem Mirza Naseer Hasan:** He was the Superintendent of the Unani Hospital, Chowk. He prepared the scheme of a charitable Hospital and established a big dispensary in 1921 in Nazirabad's Jopling Mart, Shop No. 14.
9. **Hakeem Banda Raza:** He was the personal hakeem of Nawab Mubarak Mahal, Begam of Shah Ghaziuddin Haider and was a receipt of pension (Wasiqa).
10. **Hakeem Banda Mehdi Son of Hakeem Banda Raza:** He was an expert hakeem of 19<sup>th</sup> century and was the recipient of pension. (wasiqa)

11. **Hakeem Haji Mirza Hasan Raza Khan:** He was born in 1281H. His clinic and residence was in Katra Abu Turab Khan.
12. **Hakeem Mirza Kochak:** famous Hakeem of Nawab Shuja ud daula's period. He received a stipend of Rs. 450 per month from the purse of Nawab Bahu Begum. He wrote the book "Al Mubahas", which find mention in Molvi Abdul Hai's book Nuzhatul Khwatir.
13. **Hakeem Mir Ahsan Khalq:** son of Meer Hasan Dehlvi and a student of Alvi Khan. He learnt medicine and art of pulse reading from Meer Mehdi. He wrote the book "Tibbe Ahsan" during the period of King Ghazi ud din Haider.
14. **Hakeem Badruddin:** Royal physician of Avadh, Received Rs. 1000 per month from the court of Nawab Asif ud daula Bahadur. (Ramooz-ul-Atibba Vol.I, p.157)
15. **Hakeem Heenga Jarrah:** A servant of Nawab Asif ud daula, he was expert in surgery. He left after him a son, Imam ud din who was son in law of Asif ud daula's Ataliq (teacher). (Ahd-e-Bangash, Mufti Waliullah, Farrukhabadi 1245 A.H.)
16. **Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Ali:** Famous Hakeem of Nawab Amjad Ali Shah period. His duty was weekly monitoring of Nawab's health. (Tareekh-e-Avadh by Kaml ud din Haider Vol.II p. 370).
17. **Hikmat ud daula Hakeem Mirza Mehdi:** He got the title from King Amjad Ali Shah. His father too was a noted hakeem.
18. **Tabeeb ud daula** was the famous Hakeem and the physician of Wajid Ali Shah (Tareekh-e-Avadh-Syed Kamaluddin Haider)
19. **Hakeem molvi Mirza Mehdi:** His fore fathers Mirza Mohammad Jaafar Sheerazi came to Lucknow from Iran via Kashmir during the reign of the Kings of Avadh. He was in the fifth generation. His father Mirza Mohammad Ali was an expert astrologer and was respected by the persons of that period. He had two sons. Hakeem Molvi Mirza Mehdi and the younger son Mirza Mohammad Hadi Aziz Lucknowi. Hakeem Molvi Mirza Mehdi was a known hakeem. (Adabiyat-wa-Shakhshiat-Mirza Jaafar Hussain).
20. **Hakeem Haider Hussain:** Senior Hakeem of royal hospital Chowk, he was succeeded by his son, Hakeem Jafar Husain and

did great service to his profession. He resided in Victoriaganj in the famous Baradari of Hakeem Haider Husain (now called as Bils House). He died in 1264 A.H. (1846 A.D. )

21. **Hakeem Imam Baksh Kiratpuri:** He was the master of logic, unparallel practitioner and a disciple of Hakeem M. Ishaq Dehlavi. He was the personal hakeem of Raja Tikait Rai, he wrote a book also named 'Adab-ul-Atibba' (in Arabic) and magazine "Khulasatul tib-e-Jadeed" (in Persian). He also loved teaching and was considered an expert in medical Jurisprudence.
22. **Hakeem Panah Ali:** Tall, well built, handsome, having graceful personality, he continued as one of the royal Hakeems from King Ghaziuddin Haider to Naseeruddin Haider on a pay roll of Rs. 500 per month. Left Lucknow on being discharged during the King Mohammad Ali Shah's reign and was employed by the Raja of Benaras at Rs. 200/- per month He died at Benaras on 29<sup>th</sup> Ramzan 1276 A.H. and was buried in Mufti Salamat Ali bagh. His maternal grand son is a rich person of Moradabad. (Shamsul tawarikh Vol.II, pp-22-23).
23. **Hakeem Makhdoom Baksh:** Young, handsome and tall, he was by nature philanthropic and a sophisticated man. He received curricular education from Maulana Turab Ali, of medicine from Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Ali, the famous Hakeem of Lucknow. He also learnt practice from him. He performed Haj with Maulana Turab Ali and returned after visiting the Harmain Shareef. He died on 1<sup>st</sup> Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1258 H at Lucknow. Ghaziuddin Haider had sanctioned a pension of Rs. 30 from the Najaf trust to him and his descendents and the latter still receiving this amount (Shamsut tawareekh Vol.II, pp. 41- 42).
24. **Hakeem Raziuddin Khan:** He was the son of Hakeem Qayamuddin Khan Imamia. He was a famous hakeem and had a handsome personality. He received a robe of honour from King Ahmad Shah and Almgir-II of Delhi. During Nawab Asifuddaula's period, he was employed as Hakeem for Rs.500 per month. He died of Paralysis in 1233 A.H. at Amroha.
25. **Allama Hakeem Mufti Muhammad Abbas Shushtri:** His ancestor, Syed Muhammad Jafar came to Lucknow towards the end of Asifuddaula's reign in 1210 A.H. from Shushtar and earned great respect during the period of Nawab Saadat Ali

Khan and King Ghaziuddin Haider. He was a distinguished courtier and companion of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. He died in 1263 A.H. His description is found in "Tohfatul Alam". He learnt logic from the scholars of Firangi Mahal and 'Fiqa' and principles of Fiqa from Syed-ul-ulema Syed Husain. He learnt medicine from Hakeem Mirza Ayaz Ali and medical jurisprudence from Mirza Ali Khan and Masih ud daula Mirza Hasan Ali Khan. After achieving proficiency in medicine, he wrote books Hashia-e-Sharah-e-Asbab", Hashia-e-nafeesi, "Sharah-e-Mukhtasar" and "Tohfatul Tabeeb". He was appointed as 'Mufti' in 1261 A.H. in the period of King Amjad Ali Shah and after that earned title of Tajul ulema from the last king of Avadh Sultan-e-Alam Wajid Ali Shah. After the fall of Avadh, he went to Matia Burj, Calcutta. He was a religious, pious, well mannered person and had no parallel in Arabic and Persian poetry. "Masnavi Buniyade-Aitqad" and "Masno Salwa" are his famous poems. He has large number of publications to his credit whose details are found in "Kitab-e-Tajalliyat" and "Tarikh-e-Abbasi" by Mirza Hadi Aziz Lucknowi. He died in 1306 A.H. and was buried in the Ghufuranmaab graveyard.

26. **Hakeem Muzaffar Husain Tabeeb:** He lived in Imambara Mian Almas Ali Khan and had his clinic in Sarai Mali Khan. He was the father-in-law of Mohazzab Lucknowi, famous for Urdu Dictionaries and expert-elegy writer. He was also a poet. "Tabeeb" was his pen name. He wrote nohas. He also taught medicine but only to five or six pupils at a time. His son, Syed Zafar Hasan, migrated to Pakistan and settled there.
27. **Hakeem Mirza Ali Mohammad alias Hakeem Aghghan:** He was a scholar and expert hakeem, who lived in Yahiaganj and ran his clinic at Katra Abu Turab (in front of Haji Munne Attar's medical store).
28. **Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Taqi:** Famous physician of Lucknow. Taqi was his pen name. His clinic was situated in Ghasyari Mandi.
29. **Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Naqi:** He was the son of Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Taqi, Who gained proficiency in Medicine and poetry. His poetic compositions were reflections of the Lucknow School of poetry. In the beginning, he adopted Naqi as his pen name and later adopted 'Hasan' His clinic was also in Ghasyari Mandi.

30. **Hakeem Safdar Husain:** Grand Son of Hakeem Kochak and son-in-law of Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Naqi. He resided in Haiderganj and was an expert Hakeem (monthly *Islah- Rajab* 1327 A.H.) After Mirza M. Naqi's death, he used to sit in that clinic at Ghasiyari Mandi. He died in 2003 at the age of 85 years.
31. **Hakeem Mohammad Ashraf alias Mualij Khan Kashmiri:** He was maternal nephew of Hakeem Nabba and disciple of Hakeem Ali Khan Dehlavi. His famous pupils include Hakeem Mir Mehboob Ali. He wrote "*Hodoodul Hammiyat*". His "*Matab Qalmi*" is kept at Maulana Azad Library documentation centre. Hakeem Mualij Khan was a famous physician of Nawab Shujauddaula's period.
32. **Hakeem Agha Baqar son of Hakeem Mualij Khan:** His description is found in "*Tareekh-e-Jahan Numa*". He was famous Hakeem of Lucknow. He authored the book "*Dastoor-ul-Mualij*".
33. **Hakeem Raajib Khan** son of Mualij Khan was a Hakeem of 18<sup>th</sup> century, who started clinic at Delhi. Later, he came to Lucknow and distinguished himself as a physician. His manuscripts are safe in Raza Library, Rampur and Khuda Baksh Library, Patna.
34. **Hakeem Ali Sharif:** He was the son of Mohammad Zaman and a Hakeem of repute. He wrote two books - *Majmoo al-tib* and "*Hayat*". He died in 1231 A.H. (1815 AD).
35. **Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Jafar:** Son of Hakeem Ali Sharif, he was the chief Hakeem of the Chowk Hospital.
36. **Shifauddaula Hakeem Syed Fazal Ali Khan Bahadar Modabbir Jang:** Like other famous Hakeems of Avadh, he also wrote the book *Jamia Shifaiyya* and *Tib Qadeem-o-jadeed* in Persian language, which were published by Nawal Kishore Book Depot Lucknow in 1908 A.D. This is the first public work on traditional and modern medicine. Besides, he also wrote "*Al Khubtul Waqia*" and many other books on the subject.
37. **Hakeem Molvi Yousuf Akhtar Rizvi:** He was the grandson of Shifa-ud-daula and specialised in medicine. First he lived in Faizabad and later shifted to Lucknow. He was famous Hakeems from his maternal side. His father Hakeem Syed

Mushir Ali was, after the mutiny, invited to Rampur by Nawab Yusuf Ali Khan. He was also the chief physician of Maharaja of Indore (Khazeenatul Atibba)

38. **Hakeem Nabba Lucknowi:** He was a famous physician of the Nawabi era and had many pupils, who graduated as famous Hakeems. Hakeem Murtuza Mohammad (sawaneh Allama Kishori p.103). Hakeem Moulvi Syed M. Wazir son of Mufti M. Abbas, who was awarded doctorate in Medicine by Hakeem Nabba (Tazkira bebaha fi Tareekhul ulema) Hakeem Noor Karim Daryabadi (Ramoozul Atibba Vol. II, p.120) and Hakeem Syed Ali Ahmad Nayyar (Wasti p.441) are the famous ones.
39. **Hakeem Mohammad Hasan:** He was the nephew of Hakeem Nabba. His clinic was very popular. (Tazkira bebaha p.232).
40. **Hakeem Mohammad Baqar alias Hakeem Abbu:** He was maternal nephew of Hakeem Nabba Lucknowi. His clinic was very successful. He wrote a paper entitled "All India Ayurvedic aur Unani Tibbi Conference, Delhi se alaihida rahne ke asbab." (Reason to keep away from All India Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi Conference Delhi), published by Nami Press. This paper was supported by Hakeem Syed Ghulam Husain Kintoori alias Allama Kintoori. Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Taqi, Hakeem Mohammad Nawab son of Hakeem Mir Baqar Husain, Vaid S.S. Sen, and Vaid Kaviranjan, Vice President of Ved Sabha Lucknow, Braj Gopal Secretary, Vaid Sabha Lucknow and Hakeem Abdul Rashid Lucknowi.
41. **Hakeem Syed Mohammad Taqi:** He was the son of Hakeem Syed Amir Husain Lucknowi (died. 16<sup>th</sup> August 1921) and maternal grand son and successor of Hakeem Nabba Lucknowi.
42. **Family of Hakeem Mirza Hinga:** Hakeem Mirza Hinga was the renowned Hakeem of Shuja-ud-daula's period. Nawab Bahu Begum had awarded pension of Rs. 30 per month for him. His grandson, Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Jawwad was the family physician of Raja Asad Raza of Purnia. Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Kazim spent most of his life in Iran and Iraq and Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Ali was the graduate of the first batch of state aided college Lucknow. He was the family physician of the taluqdar of Unnao Chowdhary Mohammad Maah. Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Saeed served the government of Murshidabad, Bengal and was the physician of

the royal family. He was also allotted residence in the campus of the Murshidabad fort.

43. **Family of Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Jawad Lucknowi:** The grand father of Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Jawwad, Mirza Haider Beg came to Delhi first, then they turned towards Avadh. While in Faizabad, he got access to Bahu Begum. After some time, Nawab Asif-ud-daula appointed him his Naib-e-Mulk (Deputy for the mofussil) and conferred on him the title of Amir-ud-daula. As Abu Talib Lucknowi has written Nawab Mirza Haider beg died on 14 Shawwal 1206 A.H. (5<sup>th</sup> June, 1792 A.D.). Of his descendents, Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Jawwad was an expert in medicine, who lived in Lucknow during the period of Wajid Ali Shah. His elder son was Hakeem Munne Agha, whose residence and clinic was behind the Masjid Tahseen, Chowk. He successfully treated Maharaja Prabhu Narain Singh of Benares in 1934 and, in return the title of Taaj ul Hokomaa was Conferred upon him with a diamond ring and a precious shawl. He migrated to Calcutta following Shia-Sunni riots in 1939-40. He resided at 73, Rashid Building, Kola Tola Street Calcutta and established his clinic and pharmacy in the ground floor of this building. He developed good terms with prince Babar Mirza, Abbas Mirza and Yousuf Mirza. He wrote a book "Ajaib" in Arabic about clinical practice. His son, Hakeem Munne Agha was a Professor of Medicine in the state aided Unani Medical College Lucknow. He was maternal grandson of Arif Lakhnawi. His Son, Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Baqar promoted as Professor in Hamdard Tibbia College, Karachi. He published a book Ramooz-e-Matab (Translation of the book "Ajaib").
44. **Allama Hakeem Moulvi Syed Ghulam Hasnain Kintoori:** He was born on 17<sup>th</sup> Rabi ul Awval 1245 H (1829 AD). He completed his education at the royal school established in the Imambara of Nawab Asif-ud-ula. After completing education, he was awarded doctorate. He was the incharge of Madarsai Sultania and also Registrar, Shahi Darulshafa Chowk in 1861. He prescribed a course on ancient and modern subjects, to be tough in the Madarsa and also tried to arrange finances for its expenditure, for which he toured Meerut, Muzaffar Nagar, Aligarh, Buland Shaher, Calcutta and its neighbouring towns. He had command on the prescription of medicine. He translated



books like: "Al Qanoon fil tib", "Kamil us Sanaa" and "Qanooncha' wa mojiz" published by Naval Kishore Press Lucknow. He was also an expert Chemist. Details of his chemical experiments and his compounds were published in Muftahul israr by Hakeem Mohammad Baksh Ambalvi. He was also the patron of Muftahul Israr, Ambala. The author of the present paper, too, has completed details about the life of Allama Kintoori, his achievements in medicine and compounds prepared by him in the book entitled "Allama Kuntoori aur Tib", which was published by Idara-e-Hamadania, Garhi Jalali. He was also President of the Chemical Society, Jaunpur. He topped the list of those supporting inclusion of important lessons of modern medicine in the old curriculum was published in "Akhbar ul Akhbar", Lucknow in 1872. He also wrote his autobiography in which he has described his life and experiences. In this, he has repeatedly addressed his student Habeeb Husain. This autobiography has been published from Lahore. He had two sons: one, Maulana Syed Tasadduq Husain, Manager, Kutub Khana Asafia, Hyderabad Deccan, who completed and published a comprehensive bibliography of the library books and the second Syed Mohammad Ali, who published the magazine "Muwaiz-e-Hunamia" weekly "Akhbar ul Akhbar" under the patronage of Allama Kuntoori.

45. **Shifa ul Mulk Hakeem Fazal Ali Meeran:** He was a popular Hakeem of Lucknow. He lived in Banjari Tola, Lucknow and had established a high profile clinic "Dawakhana-i-Maadan-ul-Advia" at Victoria Street. One of its compound was Sharab-us-saleheen. The ingredients of this compound were copied from "Risala-e Zahba" written by Imam Raza. His medicines (compounds) were regularly published in magazine Rahnuma-e-Sehat published from the Dawakhana and the title "Bayaz-e-maseehi".
46. **Rashid ul Atibba Saheb-e-Alam Hakeem Syed Mohammad Qasim:** He was the son of Shifa-ul-Mulk Hakeem Meeran Lucknowi. His clinic in Nakkhas was popular among both the common man and the elite. He was also Vice President of Anjuman-e-Tabeeb of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. He started monthly journal Rahnuma-i-Advia Lucknow whose editor was Hakeem Shah Ghulam Husain Chishti Phulwari. He published the Urdu translation of the book of Medicine entitled

"Ghina Muna" by Abul Mansoor Husain bin Nooh Qamri ustad Shaikh al Rais Abu Ali Husain Bin Seena by Hakeem Syed Munawar Husain from Dawakhana Maadanul Advia, Lucknow. He migrated with his family to Pakistan in 1947 and settled at Karachi, where also he established his clinic.

47. **Family of Hakeem Mohammad Yaqoob:** Hakeem Yaqoob's grandfather Abdus samad came from Kashmir to Delhi and later during Asif ud daula's period to Lucknow. He was born at Lucknow in 1205 H (1790 AD). He learnt medicine from Hakeem Meer Murtaash. He lived and ran clinic in Jhawai Tola. He was also the Personal Hakeem of Qudsia Begum, wife of King Naseeruddin Haider, and received rewards for his services from the government of Oudh. He got grand house constructed in 1266 H. at Jhawain tola. His family had many famous Hakeems to its credit, details of whom have been published by Prof. Hakeem Syed Zill ul Rehman in his "Tazkira-e-Khandan-e-Azizi". It includes Hakeem Haji Mohammad Ibrahim, Hakeem Mohammad Yaqoob, Hakeem Hafiz Abdul Wali, Hakeem Abdul Qavi, Soofi Warsi, son of Hakeem Abdul Ali, Hakeem Abdul Aziz, Hakeem Abdul Hafeez, Hakeem Abdul Waheed, son of Hakeem Mohammad Ismail, Shifaul Mulk Hakeem Abdur Rashid, Hakeem Abdul Hameed, Hakeem Abdul Haleem son of Hakeem Abdul Aziz, Hakeem Abdul Haseeb, Hakeem Abdul Jaleel, Hakeem Hafiz Abdul Majeed son of Hakeem Abdul Hafeez, Hakeem Abdul Moid, Shifaul Mulk Hakeem, Abdul Latif sons of Hakeem Abdul Waheed. Hakeem Abdul Aziz established a school of medicine in July 1902 in Jhawai Tola Lucknow known as Takmeel ut Tib which developed in due course as the present State Takmil ut Tib college.
48. **Family of Hakeem Ali Raza:** His ancestor, Mirza Ausaf Raza Beg came from Kashmir. He learnt tib (medicine) from Hakeem Mir Murtaash and started clinic at Jhawain Tola. The famous Hakeems of this family included Hakeem Haji Husain Raza, Hakeem Mehmood Raza, Hakeem Mehmoob Raza. Hakeem Husain Raza was the chief physician of the state of Rampur. After being relieved from Rampur, he established in 1904 a school of medicine by the name "Mambaul Tib" in Katra Abu Turab, Lucknow which was further developed by his son Hakeem Hadi Raza.

Hakeem Wahajul Hasan (Pul Firangi Mahal) established in 1903 "Madarsa-e-Tibbia Wahajiya" which developed under the Presidentship of Maseehul Mulk Hakeem Ajmal Khan in 1924 as Wahajia Tibbia College (Khadim ul Atibba, May 1919, p.39) Hakeem Abdul Haleem tried for a better institution by merging Mambaul tib and Wahajia Tibbia College in 1943, But could not get success and it was finally closed in 1951.

Besides a number of books on medicine, a magazine "Khadim-ul-Atibba" was also started under the Presidentship of Hakeem Abdul Hakeem in 1921. Munshi Hamid Husain, brother-in-Law of Shifaul-mulk, Hakeem Abdul Lateef was its manager. Hakeem Abdul Hakeem died in April 1922 and after his death the magazine also discontinued.

During the principalship of Hakeem Abdul Haseeb, a magazine "Risala-e-Takmeel-ut-tib" was started from the Takmeel-ut-tib College, Lucknow. Its President was Shifaul mulk Hakeem Abdul Mohammad Hakeem Abdul Haseeb the manager and Hakeem Shakeel Ahmad Shamsi its editor; the member included Shifaul mulk Hakeem Khwaja Shamsuddin, Hakeem Molvi Ahmad Husain, Patna. Hakeem Mohammad Maseeh uz zaman Nadvi and Hakeem Syed Sultan Ahmad Niyazi, residents of Garhaiya Hakeeman, Agra. This magazine continued till 1951.

49. Hakeem Sabir Raza: Son of Hakeem Hadi Raza, Principal of Mambaut-tib College Lucknow, started a magazine titled "Risala al Tabeeb" in May 1947. It was discontinued in May 1949.

**Anjuman-e-Tibbia, Lucknow:** Maseehul mulk Hakeem Mohammad Ajmal Khan constituted an All India Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi conference in Delhi comprising of hakeems and vaid. The Hakeems of Lucknow, particularly Hakeem Abdul Azeez and Hakeem Mohammad Abdul Rasheed opposed its objectives. Allama Hakeem Syed Ghulam Hasnain Kintoori also, for the sake of tib, supported them. Therefore, a meeting was called on 21<sup>st</sup> June, 1911 to discuss whether it was necessary to join the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi conference initiated by Maseehul Mulk and whether this conference will help serve the interest of tib. After long deliberations, a resolution was passed to join the conference. A select committee was also constituted for considering the means and methods for the protection

and promotion of Tib. Hakeem Mohammad Taqi was made secretary of the committee and Hakeem Khurshid Ali, Hakeem Meer Raza Husain and Hakeem Mubark Ali, the Assistant Secretaries. The select committee, on 23 June 1901 made a programme for a general conference and drafted proposals and agenda for the same on 24<sup>th</sup> June 1911, at 5 p.m. This conference was organized in the Bangalore (Kothi) of Nawab Ghulam Husain Khan Bahadar Honourary Magistrate, under the Chairmanship of Raja Sir Mohammad Ali Khan of Mahmoodabad (1879-1931).

It was attended by the elite Hindus and Muslims and the common people besides the hakeems. In the conference it was decided to constitute an "Anjuman-e-Tibbiya", whose aims and objectives were to be as follows:

1. To promote research and extension of unani system of medicine.
2. To publish rare books of Unani Medicine.
3. Establishment of schools of medicine and imparting education in the science of surgery, dressing and nursing.
4. To provide facilities for the procurement of good quality medicines and their compounds and prevent use of sub standard medicines.
5. To promote cooperation and mutual good-will among the Hakeems.

A Management committee was also constituted in the conference for Anjuman-e-tibbiya. Following were appointed the office bearers:

1. President – Hakeem Meer Syed Nawab
2. Vice President
  - (i) Hakeem Mohammad Baqar
  - (ii) Hakeem Syed Hasan Raza
3. Secretary – Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Taqi
4. Asst. Secretaries:
  - (i) Hakeem Khurshed Ali
  - (ii) Hakeem Khwaja Kamaluddin
  - (iii) Hakeem Syed Mubark Ali
  - (iv) Hakeem Abdul Mohammad
5. Members:
  - (i) Hakeem Abdul Rashid

- (ii) Hakeem Abdul Hafiz
- (iii) Hakeem Abdul Majeed
- (iv) Hakeem Mirza Mohammad Mehdi
- (v) Hakeem Wahajul Hasan
- (vi) Hakeem Munney Agha Fazil
- (vii) Hakeem Syed Glulam Husain Kishwari
- (viii) Hakeem Meeran
- (ix) Hakeem Saheb-e-Alam
- (x) Hakeem Rai Deen Dayal
- (xi) Shifaulmulk Hakeem Razi uddin
- (xii) Hakeem Ahmad Husain Allahabadi
- (xiii) Hakeem Khalil ur Rahman Pilibhiti
- (xiv) Hakeem Syed Murtuza Husain Falsafi
- (xv) Hakeem Wajid Ali Mohani
- (xvi) Hakeem Mohammad Yahaya Darbhanga
- (xvii) Hakeem Shahabuddin (Taragarh Ajmer)
- (xviii) Hakeem Maula Buksh Naqshbandi Gujrati, etc.

A book let entitled "All India Vedic and Unani Tibbi Conference Delhi se alahida rehne ke asbab" (Reasons for keeping away from A.I.V.U.T.C. Delhi) was published by Hakeem Mohammad Baqar son of Sheikh Ali Mohammad in September 1911, in which reasons for keeping distance from the conference and non participation in it were explained. This booklet has been reproduced by this author in his book titled "Allama Kintoori aur Tib" the first signature affixed at the end of this book is that of Allama Kintoori.

As a result of the opposition by the Hakeems of Lucknow, the name of the Delhi conference was changed to All India Unani Tibbi conference Delhi after removing the word Vedic and later Anjuman-e-Tibbiya Lucknow was also merged with this conference.

**The Clinics of the Physicians (Hakeem) of Avadh:** The clinics of the Hakeems of Avadh were virtually the schools of medical education, where students were provided free education in Arabic and Persian languages. Most of the students left the clinics as expert of medicine and served as physicians in different regions of the country thereby leading to the recognition of Avadh as an important centre of Unani medicine.

The physicians (Hakeems) of Avadh devoted time to both learning and practice of medicine, achieved command and modernized the system. They changed the styles of clinic and the system of writing medical prescriptions, which was different from that of Delhi. Accordingly, two schools of medicine came to be recognized in India. One "Matab-e-Delhi" and the other "Matab-e-Lucknow". As regards the methods of writing medical prescriptions, the two schools differed in the following manner:

1. The Delhi clinic has adopted one prescription (nuskha) each for different diseases while Lucknow clinic has prepared different prescriptions for a disease based on causes and symptoms. The physicians of Lucknow believe that it cannot be said of a prescription that it will cure all the patients suffering from the same disease, because nature of each patient is different and the causes of the disease are many and, therefore, no single or rigid prescription is possible, which can remove the different factors causing the disease and uniformly benefits different patients of one disease. They further argue that even the degree and intensity of a disease may be different in different patients and no single prescription can uniformly apply in their case.
2. Delhi clinic has adopted individual medicine as *sardaro* and compounds as *badarqa*. Lucknow clinic prescribed even ingredients of the compounds according to the condition of the patient. Even the entire prescription of a compound is sometimes changed (as per its ingredients and their proportions).
3. As against the practice of Delhi clinic, the Lucknow clinic makes less use of medicine derived from *prism* and *Kushtas* and prefers botanical over mineral based medicines.
4. The principles of preparing medicines as followed by the Lucknow clinic are also different from those of the Delhi clinic. Shifaul Mulk Hakeem Abdul Majeed has, in his diary, written that certain principles, which were adopted by Khandan-e-Azeezi as a refinery measure were not followed in *Zinjabeel Khas* and *proliferated Galbai Khaisanda*, allowed but not favoured in *Joshanda* and prohibited in *Aab-e-berg Kasni*, *Sabooa Awal* and *Hammiyat-e-Safravi*.
5. Delhi and Lucknow clinics were also differed in weights of combination. In Delhi clinic *joshanda* and *khaisanda* are prescribed as 5 masha and *par* medicines 7 masha while the

Lucknow clinic prescribes them at 4 mashas and 6 mashas respectively.

If a comparative study of Lucknow and Delhi clinics is made with reference to their respective literature, practices, medicines and diaries of the respective schools, their distinguishing features can easily be understood.

**Publication of the Physicians (Hakeems) of Avadh:** Most of the physicians of Avadh complied and documented their clinical traditions. Some of them also gave it to their patients. Most of them remained in the form of manuscripts and could not be published. Some works which were published were as follows.

1. **Matab-e-Murtaash:** This book was compiled by Hakeem Meer Mohammad Murtaash. Hakeem Syed Zillur Rahman Nadvi got its manuscript and Shifaul Mulk memorial Committee, Anauna House, Aligarh published it in 1976. Matab-e-Murtaash is particularly important because of the fact that the ancestors of the Hakeem Mohammad Ibraheem consulted and directly benefited from this book. For the physicians of Jhawai Tola, this book is a Guide and Materia Medica.

(Matab Murtaash p.19)

2. **Matab Maseeh ud daula**
3. **Dastoor-ul-Ilaj** - Edited by Hakeem Mohammad Abdul Haleem (Published by Faiz-e-Ahmedi Press, 1926).
4. **Matab Hakeem Yaqoob** - Maternal nephew of Nawab Rafiquddaula and student of Hakeem Yaqoob Hakeem Akbar Ali Raza has compiled it. It was published during the life time of Hakeem Yaqoob in 1864 from Mustafavi Printers Lucknow. It consists of 23 pages. This booklet was again published by Qasmi Printers Lucknow in 1903.

(Bayaz-e-Waheedi pp.45-46)

5. **Dastoor-e-Matab** - Compiled and edited by Hakeem Mohammad Hashim Ali Khan.
6. **Mujarreat-e-Allama Kuntoori** - Compiled and edited by Hakeem Mohammad Buksh Ambalavi.
7. **Matab-e-Ahmadi** - Compiled and edited by Hakeem Ahmed Raza Khan.
8. **Mujarreat-e-Azizi** - Compiled and edited by Hakeem Abdul Haleem Lucknowi.

9. Matab Hameed - Matab Shifaul Mulk Hakeem Haji Mohammad Abdul Hameed compiled by Hakeem Mohammad Maseeh uz zaman Nadvi professor Takmeel-ut-Tib College Lucknow.

(Dec. 1949 and Jan - April 1950)

10. Mugarrebat-e-Hakeem Hafiz Abdul Majeed - Published by Hakeem Mohammad Abdul Haseeb M.Sc., D.I.M.S. principal Takmeel-ut-Tib College Lucknow.

(Special Number June July 1950 and January 1951)

11. Bayaz-e- Waheeli - Book of Hakeem Abdul Waheed Lucknowi compiled by Hakeem Syed Zillur Rahman Nadwi, Reader. Ajmal Khan Tibbiya College, Muslim University Aligarh.
12. Matab-e-Lateef - Matab Shifaul Mulk Hakeem Abdul Lateef Falsafi. Ex. Principal Ajmal Khan Tibbiya College, Muslim Univertisty Aligarh compiled by Hakeem Syed Mohammad Kamaluddin Husain Hamdani, Head, Department of Medicine and surgery, Ajmal Khan Tibbiya College, Muslim University Aligarh and published by Dept. of publication, 1976.
13. Afada-e-Jaleel- Written by Hakeem Jaleel Ahmed Ansari professor Takmeel-ut-tib College, Lucknow and Published in Lahore, October 1939.
14. Tazkira-e-Jaleel - Written by Hakeem Jaleel Ahmad Ansari. This is a book of prescriptions and clinical practice for different diseases.

The history of Avadh reveals that the Nawabs of Avadh patronized the Unani medicine, which was progressing as Indian medicine besides the arts and other branches of learning. Their patronage flourished the hospitals, clinics and schools of Unani medicine, which produced famous physicians. Those physicians helped in promoting the education of tib through publications and teaching.

The treasures of the physicians of Nawabi period could not bear the brunt of time. There are many physicians of that period whose reference are found in history. But their achievements and assets pertaining to their profession are untraced. Under such Circumstances, there is an urgent need of researches and investigations in the main cities and towns of Avadh so that the history



of those Hakeems, who were born in Avadh, may properly be compiled. The Central Council for Research in Unani Medicine, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare should pay special attention towards the need of research; otherwise our country and the physician will remain deprived of the valuable treasure of the Hakeems of Avadh.

### References

1. *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, Kafi Khan Vol.2, p.902 –911
2. *Sair ul Mutakhareen*, Ghulam Husain Tabatabai
3. *Khazana-e-Amira*. p. 74
4. *Imadus Saadat*, Ghulam Ali Khan (published by Munshi Nawal Kishore Press Lucknow 1864)
5. *Waqiat-e-Salateen-e-Awadh* (Vol. 1 & 2), Syed Kamaluddin Haider (Nawal Kishore Press Lucnow 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition 1907)
6. *Islami Uloom-o-Funoon Hindustan Mein*, Syed Abdul Hai Bareilvi-Nuzhtul Khwatir, Nadwatul Ulema Lucknow.
7. *Guzishta Lucnow*, Maulana Mohammad Abdul Haleem Sharar Lucknowi (published by Syed Mubarak Ali Shah, Lahore)
8. *Akhbar-us-Sanadeed*, Hakeem Maulvi Najmul Ghani Rampuri
9. *Allama Kintoori aur Tib*, Professor Hakeem Syed Mohammad Kamaluddin Husain Hamdani.
10. *Tazkira-e-Khandan-e-Azeezi*, Hakeem Syed Zillur Rahman
11. *Shamsul Tawareekh* – Vol.1 and 2
12. *Remoozul Atibba* (Vol 1 & 2), Hakeem Firozuddin



## ADMINISTRATION OF AWADH DURING THE PERIOD OF NAWABS

S.N. Singh

Different set of ideas have guided the destiny of many a civilizations in the world through which they were born, grew and perished. The Indo-Mughal civilization too was grounded in a powerful set of ideas related to a specific social content. These ideas expressed in institutions, ceremonies, rituals and language, under lived a markedly class-based society that, however unrepresentative and elitist, was in itself cohesive and harmonious. But inevitably, such a civilization could not remain static. New forces emerged, old ideas were challenged and the framework of the established order was disturbed. This theoretical expression could specifically be seen in the context of Awadh in general and Lucknow in particular.

Awadh has attracted the hearts and minds of many a persons through ages for one reason or the other. It has attracted the attention of scholars far and wide, particularly its cultural heritage of late has fascinated people the world over. In view of this, one finds considerable literature on these aspects of Awadh's history. The present paper however, makes a brief attempt on the administration during the period under Nawabs, which generally ranges between 1722 to 1856. This is a period in which we find that there was an area where the shade of the Mughal Administrative System is extended under the Nawabs' rule. There is also the influence of the East India Company, which had established itself in the area through its Resident. We, therefore, witness two types of administrative systems in operation during this period, the one already existing and the other emerging which disturbed the established order as referred earlier.

### **The Organisational Set up**

Awadh has been one of the important Subas (provinces) of the Mughal empire; precisely it extended from river Gandak in the North East to the Ganga in the South West and Tarai of Nepal in the North to the river Sai in the South. Its length from the Sircar of Gorakhpur to Kannauj, records Ain-e-Akbari, is 137 Kos. Its breadth from the

northern mountain to Sidhpur (this is not traceable now) on the frontier of the subah of Allahabad is 115 Kos. From the times of the great Mughal Akbar to the advent of nawabi rule, there was no major territorial change.

The rise of Awadh as an independent political force took place in the time of Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Before Burhan-ul-Mulk laid the foundation of an independent dynasty, the Subah of Awadh was divided into five Sirkars, namely Awadh, Gorakhpur, Bahraich, Khairabad and Lucknow. The Suba was directly administered by the Emperor through an appointed Nazim. Subsequently, we find Subedar as the highest political office. As Subedar of Awadh Burhan-ul-Mulk assumed political control over the Subah by gradual stages and ultimately laid the foundation of an independent dynasty. During the regime of the first three Nawab Wazirs, Faizabad was the capital of Awadh, Asif-ud-daulla, however, shifted his headquarters to Lucknow. Conceived as a Suba of the Mughal empire, it provides a particular set of organisational structure headed by a Subedar, appointed directly by the Emperor himself, which subsequently acquired independence from the Mughals. How influenced for this the administrative pattern is a matter of further probe.

The Suba was divided into sirkars as referred to earlier the territory of Awadh was subdivided into five Sirkars. The next sub-unit of the administration in the organisational hierarchy is mentioned as mandals or parganas. The lowest in the hierarchy has been the villages. Looking at the organisational set up during those periods, one finds that it was, by and large, a centralised affair as the levels of administrations were very far and the powers concentrated in the hands of those few officials who managed these organisational channels.

Another organisational unit referred in the text is Chakla. For land revenue purposes, the kingdom was divided into Chaklas (which numbered twelve) and then subdivided into parganas numbering seventy. Parganas were large tract of lands comprising a number of villages. Several parganas made a Chakla. In theory, each Chakla was to be placed under a Chakladar, but in 1838 Chakladars were appointed for the entire kingdom. One of six held as many as seven chaklas and was virtually the supreme authority in southern Awadh. The Chakladars were also designated as nazims.

### **Main Areas of Administration**

During this period of Indian history including the Awadh, the State activity was generally confined to a few activities only. Prominent among these has been the maintenance of law and order, the internal security as well as security from external aggression and imposition and collection of the land revenue. Agriculture has been the main economic activity in the kingdom, which provided revenue to maintain the kingdom. Since land was the main source of income for the people as well as the kingdom, its management and the tenancy system became important. As per information we have, land in Awadh was divided into four types (a) Khalisa lands (b) Huzur Tehsil lands (c) Ijara lands and (d) Amani lands. The Khalisa lands were the crown state and its revenue was paid directly to the Crown Treasury without intervention of any middleman. This logically should have been the most lucrative source of revenue for the Awadh monarch. But due to the operation of the concept of chakladars and lack of supervision on the part of the Awadh monarch, the number of villages included in the Khalisa declined drastically. Thus the Khalisa villages in Bahraich, which had numbered more than 650, had declined to twenty or twenty five villages by the 1850s.

Into the Huzur tehsil system, the malguzars (the revenue payers) were permitted to pay their dues directly to the Treasury through their own agents. From all accounts, this system was very popular with the people of Awadh since they enjoyed under it a relative security and protection inspite of the advantage of the Huzur tehsil system and the kings awareness of these a very small portion of Awadh was under the system.

The granting of Ijaras or the system of farming out the land revenue to contractors, was fairly common among the later Mughals and its evils are well known. The Ijara system had a built-in system of oppression and attracted bankers and speculators. Under the amari or trusty management system no amount was fixed and the collection official was required to deposit into the Treasury all that he could collect. This system was obviously based on the integrity of the official.

It could be seen from the brief description above that several systems of land management were prevalent during those days. Some systems were exploitative, others were not.

## CONTRIBUTION OF NAWABS TO THE CLASSICAL MUSIC

Meena Kumari

After the decline of the Moghals at Delhi, Avadh emerged as the cultural centre of India. Despite political and administrative wrangling, the Nawab Vazirs and Kings of Avadh gave full patronage to all types of fine arts, specially music, painting and dramatics. The folk music like Kaharwa, Dhobia, Bidesia were all present in its crude form but the classical music and dance, like kathak, were confined to temples only. Some of the Sharqi Sultans of Jaunpur had, however, included it for their royal entertainment.

During the regime of Shuja-uddaula, Faizabad was the state capital of Avadh. A number of singers and musicians arrived there to earn their bread. Jawahar Ali Khan was the famous mersia (alegae) recital for the royal family.<sup>1</sup> Nawab Asifuddaula made Lucknow his capital in 1775. Since then Lucknow started growing and became the centre of Indian music.

Nasir Khan, the great grandson of Tansen, along with several musicians arrived at Lucknow. He gave a twist to the upcoming music and boosted the morale of the musicians coming from Delhi. The first book on music with the name *Usool un Naghmat al Asifia* has been written and published in this very period.<sup>2</sup> One night during the period of moharram, when Insha, the famous poet, had been passing near the mound of Shah Peer Mohammad, he saw a woman in a hut, reciting a mersia in pure avadhi pathetic tune:

*Dukhiari Zainab door Khari  
Sar peet yahi chillawat hai  
Sab Veer Sipahi Joojh gaye  
Ab Bhai Bhi marne jawat hai*

(The lamented Zainab standing at a distance beating her head and crying, all the brave soldiers have been sacrificed and now (her) brother also going to be killed).

Next day Asifuddaula also listened and saw that woman, who was reciting that mersia. He felt the pathos of music. Some historians

say that after this incident the rule book of Shastriya sangeet, usool un Naghmat al Asifia has been written by Ustad Mohammad. Raza<sup>3</sup>.

Every year on the occasion of Holi and Basant, Nawab Asifuddaula spent Rs 60 lacs<sup>4</sup> to boost the folk music of the people to celebrate their festival. Raja Mehra invented and started a new style of kahar dance in that period.

Nasir Khan used Rag Malkos for some other small raginis and tuned a number of songs, the "Swarlipi" (scale) of which are still available. According to Roshan Taqui, the transcreator of Wajid Ali Shah's book "Bani", Nasir Khan used part of Malkos in tuning "Bhairvi that" (भैरवी थाट). That was the period when the whole atmosphere had been musical.

Ghaziuddin Haider and Naseeruddin Haider, despite their busy schedule with politics, gave full patronage to music also along with other fine arts. The third and fourth kings were very religious, the progress of the fine arts including music came to a standstill in their regime. But the period of the last king of Avadh is considered by the music lords as the golden period of progress of the music in Avadh: Wajid Ali Shah was an ideal person and brave administrator, a much popular king, a writer of approximately hundred books and, above all, a patron of music and dramatic arts. He wrote five books on music namely-Bani, Najo, Chanchal, Dulhan and Sautul Mubarak.

He invented Kannarh, Juhi and Badshah Pasand Raginis and Inami Gat, Salami Gat Lucknow Ghoonghat Gat, Naz Gat, Bandhi Salami Gat in kathak<sup>5</sup>, 'Tappa' has been created by Mian Shorie, the ustad and Khalifa of Indian classical music during the period of Asifuddaula, got much popularity during the period of the last king.

Wajid Ali Shah, in his book Sautul- Mubarak, has very masterly defined the relation of raga to the twelve houses of 'Horoscope', which are present in the body of human being from toe to the head, There are certain Ragas, the voice of which emerges from a particular house of body, like Paraj from the seventh house, kharaj from 8<sup>th</sup> and Bhairvi from tenth. He has also explained the method of 'Riyaz' (Practice) for ordinary music students. His other books are full of hundred of "Bandish" in Dhrupad, Khayal, Tappa, Thumri, Dadra, Tarana, Hori Chachar, Chaturang and sargam. Not only this, his wife Alam Ara "Alam", in whose name Kothi Alam Ara was built in Alambagh, has also rhymed a number of "Bandish" in various ragas.<sup>6</sup>

## Correction

Yogesh Praveen, the famous writer and the so called an authority on the History of Avadh, has done a blunder, when writing preface of 'Najo', Hindi version, due to which my guide Dr. V. Prem Kumari is very angry and it is my duty to correct. Mr. Yogesh Praveen. What he has written in the preface of 'Najo' (Hindi version) can be serialized pointwise as follows :

1. Wajid Ali Shah was very fond of Inder Sabha. -not ture.

Wajid Ali Shah has no connection with Inder Sabha. In fact, Inder Sabha was written by Syed Agha Hasan Amanat, Lucknowi. It was first of all read on 2<sup>nd</sup> August, 1852 AD in front of some people in a big house somewhere in Mansoor Nagar.

2. Prince Wajid Ali Shah himself portray the character of Krishna in Raslila and his Mukut was worth Rs. one lac -not true

Wajid Ali Shah never portrayed the character of Krishna. His uncle Iqtidaar-ud-daula had seen all the Rahas Leelas in Qaiserbagh. He wrote in his book that Mahrukh pari used to play the role of Krishna and at that time the prince sat on a high chair.<sup>7</sup>

3. Inder Sabha has been written by Mistri Amanant -not true

Inder Sabha has been written by Syed Agha Hasan 'Amanat' Lucknowi, who lived in a Dargah, the gate of which was known as 'Sher Darwaza'. He had no connection with the king.

4. The king played the role of Raja Inder in Inder Sabha- not true.

In fact Inder Sabha was never staged in Qaiserbagh and the king had no role to play in staging this play.<sup>8</sup>

5. Wajid Ali Shah had 360 men on pay role for his 'party' at Calcutta and Rs. 1,15,590/- were spent on their salaries per month.

-not true

Wajid Ali Shah, in his own book 'Bani', has given the details of persons on pay role during his calcutta life. These were 23 mandlies, in which a total of 216 female artists were on pay role and Rs. 8598/ p.m. were spent on their pay. The total number of ustad (Music teachers) were 145 and their total monthly pay was Rs. 3261/-<sup>9</sup>.

6. Thakur Prasad taught kathak to king and

7. Lalluji and Prakashji were the court dancers. -both false

Wajid Ali Shah has given the list of those persons from whom he learned vocal, Tabla and Sitar. He has also given the names of teachers who guided him in Urdu poetry but he has never learnt dance and there is no proof in his books of learning dance or dancing.

8. Syed Ali Naqi Khan had met Wajid Ali Shah at the house of Kasbin Tawaif -not true

Kasbi or kasbin is not the name of any dancer (Tawaif) as written by Mr. Praveen. In fact, the lowest category of prostitutes were called as kasbin. There is no proof that Wajid Ali Shah had ever gone to any Kasbin.

9. Jane Alam left Lucknow on Saturday, 13 March, 1856 A.D. This was Nauchandi of Friday

Saturday and Nauchandi or Friday can not be the same day, Nauchandi is always the first Thursday of the Muslim month after the sighting of the moon while Friday and Saturday are separate days of a week. How there can be 13<sup>th</sup> March, 1856 on three days. In fact, it was 5<sup>th</sup> Rajab 1272 AH Wednesday<sup>10</sup> "that is 12<sup>th</sup>" of March 1856" when the last king of Avadh left lucknow at 8 in the night.

The preface of Najo has been written by Mr. Yogesh Praveen without giving any reference to these points and hence these types of writing have no relevance in the history of music in Avadh.

### References

1. *Tarikh-e-Faizabad* - (urdu) p. 144
2. *Hunar Mandane Avadh* - Syed Israr Hussain Khan p. 52
3. *Guzishta Lucknow* - Abdul Haleem 'Sharar' P. 132
4. *Hunar Mandane Avadh* - Syed Israr Hussain Khan p. 53
5. *Qadeem Hunar* - Syed Israr Hussain Khan p. 57
6. *Dulhan* - Wajid Ali Shah-Translation-Dr. Meena Kumari Preface - Dr. V. Prem Kumari
7. *Tarikh-e-Iqtidaria* - Iqtidar uddaula p-[-265-268] vide "Avadh ka Shahi Stage. p. 55
8. *Qadeem Hunar* - Wajid Ali Shah- Hindi translation-Roshan Taqui page 173-192
9. *Tarikh-e-Avadh Voll II* - Kamaluddin Haider p-160
10. *Taqweem same year* - Jantary the same year



## DULARI : THE CONSORT OF KING NASEER-UD-DIN HAIDER

P. K. Ghosh

Ladies of the harem often played vital roles in influencing their royal masters by their beauty, intelligence and even at times craft strategies, that helped them to mould the history of court politics. Dulari was one such fascinating character, who, by sheer dint of courage, ambition and farsightedness, rose from a humble origin to become the first consort of king Naseeruddin Haider of Avadh. She exercised complete ascendancy over her husband. It was believed that occasionally she even 'boxed his ears' to reach her goal.

Dulari's early life was shrouded with misery and misfortunes. She was, infact, a daughter of a Hindu, Kurmi by caste. When Dulari was five years old, her father borrowed from his neighbour, Fateh Murad, a sum of rupees sixty to purchase some clothes. But, unfortunately, he died without clearing the debt. Fateh Murad, therefore, kept Dulari in bondage as a pawn and set her mother free.

Fortunately for Dulari, Karamat-un-nisa, the sister of Fateh Murad took pity on her and brought her up as her own daughter. When, Dulari grew up, Karamat-un-nisa found her intimately involved with Rustam, the son by a former husband of Fateh Murad's second wife. Karamat-un-nisa, therefore, insisted on their marriage.

After the death of Fateh Murad, his first wife turned out of her house, his second wife along with her first son, Rustam and his wife, Dulari, and the other two sons – Fateh Ali Khan and Waris Ali Khan, whom she had borne to Fateh Murad. In their utter despair, they came to Rustamnagar, near Lucknow, to reside with Fateh Murad's aunt, Bibi Mulati, who agreed to take care of them and to assist them with food and raiment. Bibi Mulati was a learned and cultivated woman. She Was employed at Rustamnagar, where she worked as a governess to the daughters of Nawab Muhabbat Khan and taught them to read the holy Quran.

Meanwhile, Dulari's husband, Rustam started working as a

groom for Abbas Quli Beg, a trooper in King Ghaziuddin Haider's Cavalry. Dulari had two children, a son and a daughter. W. H. Sleeman mentions : "Dulari had given birth to a boy, who was named Muhammad Ali (alias Kaiwan Jah) and she now gave birth to a daughter. (W. H. Sleeman : Journey through the kingdom of Oudh, Voll. II, p.138).

About this time, Afzal Mahal, wife of Crown Prince Naseeruddin Haider, gave birth to a baby boy, who was named, Munna Jan. There was an urgent need for a wet nurse for the new born prince, which made his grandmother, Badshah Begum, extremely worried and so she at once despatched some royal attendants to Rustmnagar in search of a wet nurse. By now Bibi Mulati's reputation for learning had reached the Court in Lucknow. On being contacted by the royal attendants, Bibi Mulati sent Dulari to the royal palace, because she was capable of feeding the baby prince as her own son Kaiwan Jah was then three years of age and daughter, Zeenut-un-nisa, was one and a half year old.

Badshah Begum was relieved when Dulari was brought to the harem. The Queen finally selected Dulari as a wet nurse for her grandson. Thus, Dulari's entry into the harem was the first step towards the fulfilment of her ambition of finding way into the palace. After that, there was no looking back.

Coincidentally, the Crown Prince fell in love with Dulari at the very first sight. But Badshah Begum and her court was astonished at the choice of the heir apparent; because Dulari 'seemed very plain and very vulgar' to their eyes. However, Naseeruddin compelled the King and the Queen to condescend and give consent to their marriage, which was solemnised in 1826. Thus, destiny joined hands with Dulari to fulfil her soaring ambition.

Dogged by her past insecurities and conscious about her humble origin, Dulari made extraordinary efforts to surround herself, in her exalted station, with people on whom she could fully rely. She, therefore, left no stones unturned to establish her ascendancy over her royal husband. Dulari invited Fateh Murad's two sons - Fateh Ali and Waris Ali - to the court and impressed upon King Ghaziuddin Haider that they were all people of high lineage, "Who had been reduced by unmerited misfortune, to accept employment so humble". (W. H. Sleeman, Op. Cit. Vol. II, P. 139) Consequently, they were

raised to the rank of Nawabs and were appointed in the position of high trust and emoluments. Dulari also invited Bibi Mulati and her daughter Jameet-un-nisa and son Qasim Beg to the palace, which clearly expressed her sense of gratitude towards her benefactor. Neither did she forget her indebtedness towards Karamat-un-nisa, who also invited to the palace in Lucknow.

The manner, in which Dulari consolidated her position in the royal harem, revealed her innate political acumen, which helped her to carve a niche for herself in the sophisticated ambience of Lucknow. It was interesting to note that Dulari did not allow anybody to stampede upon her newly found ascendancy. For example, when her first husband, Rustam, ventured to approach the royal Court, he was immediately apprehended at her instance and was imprisoned in a fort in the Bangur district, where he remained confined till Naseeruddin Haider's death in 1837. Rustam later came to Lucknow, but died soon after.

In 1827, King Ghaziuddin Haider passed away and was succeeded by his son, Naseeruddin Haider, who ascended the throne in Lucknow on the 20<sup>th</sup> October, 1827. After his accession, Dulari further fortified her position by matrimonial alliances with the royal family - her son Kaiwan Jah was espoused to the daughter of Rukunuddaula, brother of the late King, and her daughter Zeenut-un-nisa to Mumtazuddaula. These two marriages were celebrated at a cost of about 30 lakh of rupees. Dulari was now raised to the status of a queen with the title of Malika Zamani the 'Queen of the Age'. The king conferred upon her a 'jagir', yielding an annual revenue of six lakh of rupees.

Dulari was so far sighted that she tried to secure her position even after the death of her husband. Hence, she made a bold effort to secure the rights of her son Kaiwan Jah by getting him recognised as the heir apparent to the Dowager Queen Badshah Begum. This also paved the way for a rift between the Queen Mother and Malika Zamani.

The influence of Malika Zamani over the king was so forceful and complete that during November and December, 1832, Naseeruddin Haider tried to assure the British Resident, Mordaunt Ricketts with great solemnity that Kaiwan Jah was his eldest son. In order to further convince the Resident, the king argued that "had it not been so, his uncle would never have consented" to bestow his

daughter upon him (Kaiwan Jah) in marriage, nor would he himself have consented" to spend a huge amount in the ceremonies. But the Resident remarked that the universal impression in Lucknow was, that Kaiwan Jah was already three years of age, when his mother was first introduced to the King. Later Naseeruddin Haider even wrote a letter to the Governor general, Lord Amherst, in which he earnestly protested that Kaiwan Jah was his eldest son and heir apparent to the throne (W. H. Sleeman, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 140).

As the time wore away, the ascendancy of Malika Zamani over her royal master gradually began to wane, especially with the inclusion of three new wives in the King's harem. The first one was, Miss Walters, who was the daughter of a European merchant. After the marriage with the king, she became Muqaddar Aliya. A European lady, Mrs. Park, who had visited King Naseeruddin Haider's harem on the anniversary of his coronation on the 18<sup>th</sup> October, 1828, states that Muqaddar Aliya "Write and speaks Persian fluently as well as Hindustani "and" it is said that she taught English to the King". (Mrs. Park's *Wandering*, Vol. I, p. 87). Muqaddar Aliya remained the King's favourite until the entry of beautiful Taj Mahal, whom Mrs. Park describes as so exquisitely beautiful that "I never had beheld before". (Mrs. Park's *Wandering*, Vol. I, p. 87). Finally, Malika Zamani's influence on the King dwindled, when her own woman-in-waiting, Qudsiya Begum found a place in the king's heart because of her charm, courage and presence of mind. Though Malika Zamani was alarmed, yet she was compelled to give her consent to their marriage.

Even after the marriage of Muqaddar Aliya, Taj Mahal and Qudsiya Begum with the King, Malika Zamani, i.e. Dulari reigned supreme as the King's first consort.

The statement is proved by the fact that on 1<sup>st</sup> March, 1829, by a deed of engagement with the British Government, Naseeruddin Haider contributed a sum of rupees 62,40,000 as loan to the English. In return, the British Government pledged to pay 5 percent interest in perpetuity to the four females of the King's family, which amounted to 26,000 rupees a month. Out of the total amount, Malika Zamani's share was alone ten thousand rupees. The rest of the amount was distributed as follows - Zeenut-un-nisa, daughter of Malika Zamani was paid four thousand rupees, while Muqaddar Aliya and Taj Mahal received rupees six thousand each. (W. H. Sleeman: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 145)

Malika Zamani's life force was her past insecurities and childhood experiences, which prompted her to manipulate and act according to pre-meditated plans. Consequently, her manipulate mind never failed to cash on the fact that the King had a very soft corner for her. Hence, she used his weakness as a spring-board to attain her life's ambition and goal. Earlier she had induced the King to declare Kaiwan Jah as his own son and heir to the throne. However, after her ascendancy waned, Naseeruddin Haider reported to the Governor General, Lord Williams Bentinck, in 1832 that neither Kaiwan Jah nor Munna Jan were his sons. In fact, he accused Malika Zamani of being too ambitious and that she had bribed his inner coterie with lakhs of rupees so that he could be persuaded to declare her son Kaiwan Jah as his son and the heir to the throne. (Najmul Ghani Khan, *Tarikh-e-Avadh*, Voll III, pp. 151-54; W. H. Sleeman *Op. Cit*, Vol II, p. 141).

Malika Zamani's stormy life was not similar to the fabled story of a girl from rags to riches. She did not just juggle the way to success. On the contrary, her judicious and discrete moves helped her climb every rung of the ladder. After the death of king Naseeruddin Haider in 1837, she continued to live as his widow till she breathed her last on the 22<sup>nd</sup> December, 1843.



## LUCKNOW AS I KNOW IT

Jafar Abdullah

*Ae shahrey Lucknow tujhe mera salam hai.*

*Tera hi naam dusra jannat ka naam hai.*

It's a matter of recorded history that the golden age of Lucknow started with the advent to this city of Nawab Asif-ud-daulah Bahadar in 1775 and by 1856, the year of abdication of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, it had attained perfection. During this short span of nearly eight decades, a brand new culture, commonly known as "Lucknow Tehzeeb" or Ganga Jamni Tehzeeb came into existence. Towards the development of this unique culture, equal contributions were made by Hindus and Muslims, as a result of which the Rose and the Lotus got inseparably fused in a crucible of love known as the sacred soil of Lucknow.

The country's independence, in the partition of the sub-continent in 1947 played havoc with human life and property, throughout the length and breath of our sacred motherland, but one place which stood head and shoulders above others as the sentinel of Peace and Communal harmony was the city of Lucknow. When the Lucknow citizen, whose close relatives had fallen victims to communal frenzy in Delhi, was advised by his coreligionists to migrate to Pakistan, he dismissed the idea by quoting the popular urdu couplet:

*Lucknow hum per fida aur hum fidai Lucknow*

*Kya hai hasti asman ki jo chhudai Lucknow.*

The abolition of Taluqadari and Zamindari in 1952, though a landmark in the nations history, was a severe blow to the famous Ganga Jamni Tehzeeb. As the Rajas and the Nawabs, who were the architects of this famous culture, were overnight reduced from Princes to Paupers. A few years after this traumatic event a Nawab visited the residence of a local Raja to meet his dear old friend, and to revive the memory of the good old days, when the two happened to be fellow students of Colven Taluqdars College. The Raja, noticing the impoverished condition of the Nawab, was moved to tears and

greeted his friend with the following Urdu couplet rendered in a melancholy tone:

*Kaise kaise aise vaise ho gaye*

*Aise vaise kaise kaise ho gaye.*

The Nawab, who was equally touched by the Raja's obvious plight, replied in the same tone by uttering the following Urdu couplet:

*Main bhi hai meena bhi hai, sagar bhi hai, saqi nahin*

*Jee main aata hai laga den aag maikhane ko hum.*

Thereafter, the conversation ended and the two sat gazing at each other in stony silence for a long time.

It's a matter of common knowledge that the favourite pastime of Lucknowi Nawabs and Rajas were:

Fikaiti, Palta, bank, binvat, kushti, barchha, bana, teerandazi, kataar, jalbank, janwaron ki ladai, murgbazi, kabutarbazi, patangbazi, mushaira, mujra, etc.

Majority of the above mentioned arts have faded into oblivion by the time India won freedom and hence they are not the subjects of my talk. I shall only dwell upon those, which are part of my memory. As I close my eyes, scattered scenes of the bygone days float across the screen of my imagination like the kaleidoscopic scenes of wild West Movie.

I very vividly remember having watched a Baterbazi Pali held in the Deewan Khana of an eminent person of Kashmiri Mohalla. It was summer time and a white Chandni was spread in the courtyard, held in position by four Mirfarsh. All the notables of the locality were sitting in two groups, facing each other, as if watching a boxing bout at the Mandison Square Garden. Suddenly, two renowned Baterbaz of the town appeared on the stage as if from nowhere, holding Baters in their hands. Both the Baters looked alike, except that the claws of one were coloured red while those of the other were coloured green in order to facilitate distinction. The two rivals then took diametrically opposite positions and released their Baters into the ring, if I be allowed to use this expression. Thereafter, the fight commenced and the Baters fell upon each other like hungry wolves and fought with dogged bravery for about half an hour, when one of them succumbed to injuries while the other was half dead. During the progress of the

fight, the supporters of the rival teams kept encouraging their respective birds often giving them the nick names of Rustam & Sohrab. By the time the fight ended. Enthusiasm had risen to fever pitch and the place had acquired the trappings of the Roman Amphitheatre.

Another competition which I attended was that of Patangbazi on the bank of the river gomti. In this tournament, all the famous teams of the town took part. Skipper of one of the teams was Maj. Sethi of I.N.A. fame, who was also a renowned Patangbaz of Lucknow. Patangs (Kites) belonging to different teams were of different colours while those belonging to Maj. Sethi's teams were red. The I.N.A. hero had given such names to his patangs as Subhash, laxmi Bai and Shahnawaz. It was a fine winter morning, the competition started around 10 a.m. and continued till 3 p.m. In the end, Maj. Sethi's team was declared champion. Incidentally, the patang named Subhash won the maximum number of "Penchs". Overwhelmed by the commendable performance, Maj. Sethi shouted the slogan Netaji Subhash Zindabad and the crowd joined with equal fervors.

One of the Mujras, which I attended, was held on the Balakhana of Sheesh Mahal once the Residence of Nawab Asif-ud-daula Bahadar, as part of the celebrations of the wedding ceremony of a close relative. It was summer and the time was around 10 p.m. The place had been tastefully decorated with flowers, buntings and defused lights, which had created a riot of colours. The 'farsh' was covered with Persian carpets with velvet covered Gao Takias scented with the most expensive perfumes. Shortly the honoured Guests including Rajas, Nawabs and Taluqdars attired in jamdani Angrakha, Achkan and chapkans started arriving. Just before the commencement of mujra, the honoured guests were treated to 'False ka Sharbat' specially prepared for the occasion by Nazir, a famous Sharbatwala of Lucknow Then, as if from nowhere, appeared a Tawaif, who performed Aadab, which was duly acknowledged by the honoured guests. The tawaif, resplendently dressed in Peshwaz and Chooridars, perfumed with Itre Khas and bedecked with the rare jewelry, was a person of magnetic attraction. In beauty of face, few women could equal, it was the radiance of an opium dream, a fiery and spirit lifting vision more sublime than the fantasies that hovered over the slumbering souls of the daughters of DELOS. Our



eyes were fuller than the fullest of the gazel eyes of the tribe of the valley of Najd, while the tresses of her hair were giving full force to the Homeric epithet of hyacinthine. As it was time now for the sazindas to exhibit their skill, they started off with their tabla, harmonium and sarangi to create the receptive mood amongst the audience. When the optimum conditions for the Mujra had been attained, the silken caresses of the Tawaif's mellifluous voice started rising above the sound of the musical instruments and she began rendering the famous ghazal of Amir Minai:

*Chunke afshan nazar us mah ne jo ki taron per  
Asman rat ko lota kiya angaron per  
Sarka jata hai jamale rukhe zeba se naqab  
Kaun munh mare dahakte hue angaron per*

The performance was spellbinding and the audience fell into the state of ecstasy. The ghazal was followed by the famous Lucknowi Thumri.

*Kisne chilman se mara nazzara mujhe.*

As the Mujra came to a close, I heard an aged Nawab rendering the following couplet in whispers:

*Khuda abad rakhe Lucknow phir bhi ghanimat hai,  
Nazar koi na koi achchi surat aa hi jati hai.*

All India Mushairas were quite popular in Lucknow till about thirty years ago. I remember attending one such Mushara held at Baradari Qaiserbagh, in which a large number of Hindi and Urdu poets of national repute participated. The function was presided over by the late prof. Raghupati Sahai Firaq Gorakhpuri, the Doyen of urdu poetry. Some local Hazal-Go Shairs (Composers of Comic Poetry) had also been invited to make the occasion more spicy. Being President of the Mushaira, Firaq Sahab was the last to recite. On popular and repeated demands, he rendered this famous ghazal in his unique style.

*Shame gham kuch us Nigahe Naaz ki Baaten karo  
Bekhudi Barhti Chali Hai Raaz Ki baaten karo  
Nakhate Zulfe pareshan Dastaane Shame Gham  
Subah Tak Isi Andaaz Ki Baaten Karo  
Hai Sukute Saaz Hi Dil Ki Rango Ka Tootna  
Khamoshi main ab shikaste saaz ki baten karo.*

Firaaq's rendering had a magical effect on the minds of the audience and the Ghazal drew thunderous applause from the crowd. When the sounds of Wah Wah and Subhan Allah subsided, a dark, short statured, emaciated and owlish looking person from the crowd got up and requested Firaaq to render a Hazal (Comic Poetry) without realizing the poet's literary stature. In reply, the latter sarcastically remarked.

*Har Shakh pe Ullu baitha hai*

*Anjame Gulistan kya hoga.*

and thus came to an end the proceeding of that poetic Symposium.

Ramlila is the commemoration of the victory of Lord Rama over Ravana, the demon king of Lanka. In other words, the victory of good over evil. It is celebrated through out the country by people from all walks of life without prejudice of caste, creed and colour. During the reign of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, the last king of Avadh, this celebration had risen to the status of a fine art as the king himself participated in the proceedings with great devotion.

I once attended Ramlila Celebration held in Company Bagh, in which prominent episodes of the battle of Lanka were dramatized by the local artists. One of the artists participating in this drama was the close relative of mine. He was giant of a man and was, therefore, nicknamed Jafar Jin by his friends. Due to his colossal built, he was asked to play the role of Ravana by the organizers of the drama. He appeared on the stage like "GOLIATH" and challenged his royal opponent to battle. Having hurled many unkind words at the Lord, he gripped the hilt of his own sword to unsheathe it, but, despite repeated attempts, he failed to do so due to the rusted scabbard – thereby making a mockery of himself on the stage. As the people started hooting, he tactfully challenged his opponent to prove his prowess by unsheathing the former's sword. Lord Rama, being played by a much smaller man, suddenly gripped the hilt of Ravana's sword, with a jerk unsheathed the weapon and handed it over to Ravana. Thereafter, the duel started. The spectators, who mistaken Ravana trick as part of his own dialogue, gave him standing ovation.

Moharram commemorate the martyrdom of Imam Husain (A.S.), the Prophet's grandson. In India it is observed on the lines of great tragedy as it also denotes the victory of the good over evil.

Moharram observed in our country has many elements of Indian origin, such as Tazia, Alam, Tabut, recitation of salaam, Nauha, Marsiya, rendered in Indian Musical ragas. The rural Hindus, to whom Imam Husain is known as – Moorh kata Baba ( the beheaded saint) also participate in these programmes with great devotion.

In an article recently published in the Pioneer, Mr. Najmul Hasan gives a lucid account by a Persian traveller named Shushtri of Moharram observation by Hindus in the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> & 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, describing the magnificence of the Imambaras built by the Hindu rulers who changed into black garments during Moharram and recited marsia in local dialects.

Hasan also quotes Thomas Brouhgton, an officer of the East India Company at the Maratha Court, who has recorded in details how the Marathas observed Moharram in camps even while carrying on campaigns against the Nizam and Tipu Sultan, who were Muslims.

The Maharaja of Banaras, the Scindhias of Gwalior, the Holkars of Indore and several other Hindu princes also observed Moharram with great zeal and devotion. The Indianisation of Moharram in its appearance of flavour had the blessings of both Hindus and Muslims who wanted to demolish barriers between faiths and unite them on a platform of Humanity to put up a spirited resistance against tyranny.

The celebration of Ramlila and Moharram with equal fervour, as epitomized in our Ganga Jamni culture, gives full force to the famous couplet of Mirza Ghalib.

*Hum mavahid hain hamara kesh hai tarke rusoom*

*Millatain jab mit gaeen ajzaye iman ho gaeen.*

(We are Unitarians and our cult is demolition of barriers, so that, the divided parts of humanity are fused into one whole).

If we want to preserve the Ganga Jamni Tahzeeb, we have to guard against such elements who bent upon disputing the social, spiritual, cultural and communal harmony of our beloved city. We shall then be able to proudly declare.

*Yeh who shahar hai, shahre nigaran kaken jise*

*Guldast-e-khiram-e-baharan kaken jise.*

## THIS LUCKNOW AND THAT

Ratan Mani Lal

Once upon a time there was a city, which was as beautiful – if not more – than the best in Europe as far as architecture, design and life style was concerned. There was about the city an ambience, a fragrance that set it apart from the rest in India. The people here possessed a combination of manners, etiquette and style, which was unmatched – so much so that people from this city could be distinguished as a class apart anywhere in the world.

The city was Lucknow, and the flavour of the city comprised those famous ingredients – Nazakat, Nafasat and ada – which set its people apart.

This was a couple of centuries ago, when Lucknow and its rulers, not because of any decree, but by themselves, the way they were made, decided that rather than bloodshed and expansion of the geographical boundaries, they would set themselves into a life of pursuing finer aspects of life. And thus arose a system of patronage of fine arts, literature, personal manners, clothes design, dance, music poetry and leisure activities, that even survives to this day, albeit more as a relic.

The Lucknow of yore has been a subject of thorough research and scholars of history have written tomes about the nawabs, tawaifs, mujras, kathak, ghazals, Sham-e-Oudh and much more. The effort has been to tell the world that the Lucknow one sees today is a mere shadow of the grand city it once was, and though the people of Lucknow can still be distinguished by the way they speak and conduct themselves, it used to be the rule rather than the exception.

Today, a visitor to Lucknow will find it no different from a city of comparable size and population. It has about it the same filth, squalor, sounds and smells that characterise a growing, haphazard city, where the people are impatient, uncivil and in a hurry to make money for themselves, throwing all norms to the wind.

How unfortunate it all is, especially when one considers that so much is being lost irretrievably each day by this unbridled pursuit of wealth and power. Today, people in Lucknow hardly care about the comfort and accommodation of others. Modern-day Lucknowite is as unscrupulous as any urban goon in any city, if not worse, because the opportunities for earning dishonest money and power are shrinking day by day as more and more people throng to it. Not to be found in Lucknow are the opportunities of Bangalore and Hyderabad. Yet, people in Lucknow expect that with political contacts and ill-gotten money, they can rule the fortunes of the city.

It is becoming clearer with each passing day that unless people of Lucknow themselves do not wake up from their leisurely slumber, the day is not far off when rest of Indians – and much of non-Indian visitors – will start cringing from the very mention of Lucknow, and will avoid any contact or visit to the city.

However, it is heartening to know amidst all the decline and deterioration, there exist a few people who are still bothered about the traditional culture of Lucknow and have kept it alive at least in their own homes, and constantly spread this awareness among the people they know.

How, one would wonder. "It is matter of serious concern for my mother who has seen it all," says Roshan Taqui, an executive in a government department. It looks surprising, but this young man belongs to and behaves in such a traditional manner that belies his modern attire. "Even today, before leaving for work each morning, I tell my mother the possible routine of the day and the programme while returning – including the fact that whether I'll be late or not," says he, adding that no one has ever put pressure on him to do this. "Perish the thought, I feel like telling my mother everything and I feel secure this way when she blesses us before I leave the house." Narrating a small incident, he remembers that one day, one of his friends visited him at home and out of sheer excitement, he said "Hi" to her! "My mother somehow overheard that this was my exchange of pleasantries and was annoyed. I knew this but she said nothing, kept quiet and when I was leaving for office the next morning, she quietly told my elder sister that "the children are watching too much TV nowadays" and when I told her my routine of the day before leaving, she kept quiet and did not bless me. I was thunder-struck,

and immediately sought her pardon for my friend's indiscretion of language."

Here is one family that is enjoying the pleasures of a life which is secure for all, at no extra cost.

Then there is the example of another old-timer. He somehow grew annoyed with an old friend of his. You know how did he express his annoyance? "I said adab arz to him without getting up from my chair!" was his reply!

Use expletives in dealing with you and fight with you when you catch them cheating on the measurement, you know that for him, money is more important than earning a lasting bond beyond that of a customer.

This Lucknow and that. Who can make a difference? The government? An ambitious beautification scheme? Huge amount of money for electricity, water, roads and shops? Think again.



## CONTRIBUTION OF COURTESANS IN THE CULTURE OF AVADH

Manju Tripathi

It intends to unveil the contribution of a group of women to the culture of the nation. In spite of the intensive contribution to the art of dance and music, people are not proud of the institution of courtesans. The splendor and sophistication of Lucknow culture owes much to the contribution of tawaifs, who occupied a position in society by virtue of their culture and refinement<sup>1</sup>. Their contribution has rarely been conceived with a positive attitude and the entire institution has often been mistaken.

From the late 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, Lucknow was famous centre of integrated culture. The courtesans entertained the social elite with their songs, graceful dances and sparkling company<sup>2</sup>. They played an important role in the life of the courts and cities of India<sup>3</sup>. The courtesans were an influential, affluent, educated and talented elite. They were pressed in influential capacity at all Hindu and Muslim courts<sup>4</sup> in many kingdoms in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was only after the British began to displace the rulers that their position deteriorated.

During the reign of the Nawabs of Avadh, these were the women who had taken culture to its new heights. They had now only preserved the rich tradition of their dance but also developed new blends of Hindustani and Persian dance. The interaction of Persian and Hindu style brought about a glorious fusion of Hindu and Muslim arts and new forms of dance and music were evolved. Kathak was one of them. They did experimentation on different styles of singing and dance and evolved new ones of their own<sup>5</sup>.

It can not be denied that they did enjoy power because of their art and could manipulate the most powerful, even Nawabs. This itself is a remarkable inversion of a society that blatantly favours males over females. They did not fear men. The self-affirming philosophy of the kotha makes it possible for them to consciously but cautiously violate the normative expectations of the gender-biased behaviour.

In kotha, it is drilled into them right from the beginning of the exhaustive training that they are talented and capable of controlling men than being controlled by them. They have inner courage to treat men as equals or even inferiors<sup>6</sup>.

It is a misunderstanding that every person going to kotha or a courtesan used to have a single motive of quenching the sexual desire<sup>7</sup>. Courtesans were nothing but the dancing girls, with additional virtue of having ready wit, good manners and proficient in etiquette and fluent in making conversation. Thus the rich and the Nawabs would send their sons to such reputed women for being trained in the culture, manners and Lucknow Tahzeeb<sup>8</sup>.

Here it may be appreciated that respect the lady used to command was because of her professional talent, etiquette and the status of her living and the beauty used to be the secondary virtue. Therefore, a tawaif could be equated with the Geisha in Japan. Both excel in mannerism and the way they entertain their guests<sup>9</sup>.

The young ones were intensively trained, putting in many hours of riyaz (practice) in music and dance. They also learned to master the finer nuances of phabti, zila and riyayt, acts that would amuse as well as intellectually stimulate. They were skilled in exaggerated politeness, which was synonymous with the Avadh court<sup>10</sup>.

Mujra in its classified form is dead. If at all it thrives today, it does so due to the patronage extended to it by the affluent class, but its rich cultural ambience is missing. It is not easy to believe that the mujra once existed as a cultural centerpiece in Lucknow because it is no longer alive as an undiluted art. It exists as a pitiful parody of an honoured traditional skill.

The mujra was not just thoroughly enjoyable entertainment. It gradually grew into a way of life, poetic and pleasurable<sup>11</sup>. Courtesans were expert in classical form of vocal music and dance but diluted the dhrupad and khayal. More pleasing tunes like bhairvi, thumri and dadra were invented, being light classical, they were easily appreciated by common man<sup>12</sup>.

During the time of Nawab Asif-ud-daula, Lucknow became an independent seat of power. Music, song and dance reached their zenith<sup>13</sup>. Wajid Ali Shah was the embodiment of poetry, and romance and music. It was at his time that courtesans were elevated to the



level of an artist, unlike other rulers of Indian states, who looked at dance as a form of sensual enjoyment<sup>14</sup>.

Clothes are the most visual symbol of a culture and relate very deeply to its society. The dress of the courtesans was modesty itself and nothing but their faces, feet and hands were exposed. European spectators were greatly impressed by the glittering robes and ornaments worn by the nautch girls. Captain Mundy found the dress of Indian nautch girls infinitely more decent than that of French and Italians.

They were religious minded and pious in their observance of rituals and generous in making donations to mosques and officiating priesthood<sup>15</sup>. As the Moharram moon was sighted, the unique place of joy and fanfare used to be in black robes, instruments used to be covered and were not touched in this period. Tawaifs used to sit with bayaz (collection of elegies), recite soz and the audience just drowned in the ocean of tears. Their Tazias had a typical different glitter. They were extremely colorful and had thick and intricate work of zari muqayyash<sup>16</sup>.

During the British rule this profession experienced the most traumatic time. They failed to distinguish a prostitute from a courtesan and a client from a patron. Recognized as a cultural asset by the Nawabs, the courtesans were then left to the mercy of the British, who viewed them solely as an inexpensive solution to the carnal needs of the European soldiers<sup>17</sup>. The British looked upon the institution only as a medical problem<sup>18</sup>.

The British system of education ignored study of the country's traditional art and culture. The educated elite got alienated from their own heritage. In a changing social environment, the married woman was now a graceful, accomplished being. She could play the role of a friend and companion to her husband, a thing that a tawaif offered when the wife lived in a secluded zanakhana. Gradually, the tawaif thus lost her relevance in the society. The institution of tawaif died a natural death long ago. It could not have survived in the hostile environment, in which it found itself after the loss of its patrons. The institution does not seem to revive back having lost its relevance. Now number of personality development centres, fluent conversation classes, dance and music classes seem to have collectively replaced this single and unique institution forever<sup>19</sup>.

### References

1. *The history of Music in India*, Photostated article, n. d., n.p.
2. *Musical life in Present Day Lucknow*, Photostated article, n. d., n. p.
3. Chandra, 1973, *ibid*.
4. Oldenburg Veena, *Life-style as Resistance : The courtesans of Lucknow in "Lucknow : memories of a city"*, edited by Violette Graff, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 145
5. Navile Pran, *The Nautch Girls of India* (New Delhi , Ravi Kumar Publishers, 1996), p. 45
6. Oldenburg *op. cit.*, 142-3, Oldenburg gives detailed stories of each of these women, having a different flavour of horror and courage.
7. Kidwai, R. R. *Lucknow : The Lost Paradise*, Lucknow : S. R. Publications, 1993, p. 127.
8. Ali Muzaffar, *The Beauty of My Beloved*, The Taj Magazine, Vol. 23 No. 1 : Lucknow, A Special Issue, First Quarter 1994, p. 89.
9. Kidwai, *Op. Cit.* p. 129.
10. Ali Muzaffar, *op. cit.* p. 86
11. Jordan Zafar, "Mujara" Lost in Glorious Past, n. d., n. p.
12. Kidwai, *op. cit.* P. 129
13. Ali Muzaffar, *The Beauty of* .....p. 86
14. *Op. cit.*, p. 88
15. Nevile, *op. cit.* P. 114
16. Praveen Yogesh, *Bahar-e-Avadh*, p. 64
17. *The History of Music in India*, n. d., n. p.
18. Dang Kokila, *Prostitutes, Patrons and the State : 19<sup>th</sup> century Avadh*, (Paper for M. Phil. Course work), p. 174
19. Nevile, *Op. cit.*, p. 172



## NEED FOR PRESERVATION OF ISLAMIC CALLIGRAPHY OF NAWABI BUILDINGS IN LUCKNOW

S. Anwar Abbas

Since the very beginning of their rule, Muslim rulers in India have provided illustrious examples of monumental calligraphy, beginning with buildings like the Adhai Din ka Jhoupna at Ajmer, Qutub Minar at Delhi and finally the Taj Mahal at Agra, which is technically, the best example of inscription of Quranic verses (ayats) in Thuluth on a monument, in the whole world. The excellent calligraphy on the Taj also serves as an example of the Iranian influence in the field, as the calligrapher Abdul Haq himself was from a family of Shiraz in Iran. A large number of artists and calligraphers came to India from Iran during the Moghul rule.

With the decline of the Moghul empire, many of the master calligraphers were forced to migrate from Delhi to other places, in search of patrons, who could appreciate and honour their art and skill. Murshidabad in Bengal and Golconda in Deccan, Later, they also sought employment in newly established states like Tonk in Rajasthan, at Faizabad and later at Lucknow in Awadh and at Rampur (Rohilkhand), as scribes in the various offices of the court. Besides, faithfully copying the Holy Quran in the Naskh script (khat), they also developed mastery in Nastaliq, for inscription of Persian for official Proclamation (Firmans) and documents, besides Urdu for general correspondence, popular writing or interpretation of religious matters for the literate and copying of poetry for wasli framed hangings for the wall.

Despite the fact that the rulers of Awadh had their ancestors in Nishapur Iran, in a country famous for renowned masters of calligraphy, the world over, and that the city had benefitted from the decline of Delhi to establish Lucknow as an important centre of

calligraphy, it is ironical that there is little contribution in the form of monumental calligraphy on their buildings by the Nawabi rulers of Awadh.

In fact, until the reign of the eighth Nawab, the second king of Awadh, Naseer-ud-din Haider (1827-1837), when an imambara was built for his forster son, Kaiwan Jah, by his (Kaiwan Jah's) mother, Malka Zamani, bearing Quranic verses on the frontage and in border lines all along the walls of the inner halls, no other contribution of this kind appeared anywhere in the Nawabi buildings.

An exception does appear in the period of the fourth Nawab, Asif-ud-daula, credited with glory of Lucknow, when he permanently shifted the capital to the city in the form of the Kala Imambara built by the son of Salar Jung, the maternal uncle of the ruling Nawab. The Imambara was built by Qasim Ali Khan in 1874, but he was not the ruler. There was also the Imambara of Zainul Abidin Khan of the same period, the finest example of innovative calligraphy in the form of different Tughra designs, but the builder again was not a ruling Nawab. (Much of this Imambara's calligraphy, that was done on the plaster of the pillars of the hall, has been ruined now, due to crumbling of the plaster).

The only ruler really interested in employing calligraphers for the embellishment of an Imambara appears to be the third king of Awadh, Mohammed Ali Shah (1837-1847), who succeeded his young nephew, Naseer-ud-din Haider, at the age of sixty three years, to the throne of Awadh (being crowned by the British as the king).

His Imambara Bahr-ul-husnaat at Jamunia Bagh, later named Husainabad, popularly known today as the Chhota Imambara, has beautiful Khattati (calligraphy) in the form of Tughra design at their very best. The exterior of the main hall is decorated with calligraphic designs in various recognizable shapes and forms, on the front and the wings. Each one of these individual designs is a master piece in itself and adds to the purity of the beauty of this religious structure and its façade.

The Husainabad Imambara, built by Mohammed Ali Shah, proved an inspiration to at least five other nobles of his own period and that of his son Amjad Ali Shah and grand son Wajid Ali Shah's reign, to build Karbalas with the hujra (main domed structure) masjid (mosque), ghulam gardish (boundary with attendants rooms) of

gateway, having inscriptions from the Holy Quran in the Naskh Script (one also has it in Khat-e-Kufi).

The calligraphy on these monuments is of a high standard and is par excellence at some places.

Preservation of calligraphic inscriptions on monuments is not ordinarily possible. It requires expert knowledge and skill in handling the job. Where it is present in natural colour and vegetable dye, chemical treatment becomes necessary. In stucco, care is required so as not to cause damage or weakening of the extent work and careful re-structuring and repair of broken parts require special efforts and skill, besides knowledge of the style of khat. In stone, engraved letters often need to be filled with lead or some other suitable material.

Most of the destruction of the calligraphic inscriptions in all religious monuments appears to be caused by the ordinary technique and easy method of coating with lime or ochre (geru) which is used mainly because of its low cost. This coating is repeated annually, without brushing or finely clearing the thin gaps and narrow spaces between the alphabets of the inscription and the floral design around it.

The thick crust of the previous coating that is formed on the surface and edges is also not removed and the inscription are filled up and get obliterated when fully covered with lime or ochre.

In the present state of affairs, the trust managements, the Waqf Board, the Archaeological departments of the State and Central Government, the conservation agencies like INTACH and other concerned except HARCA are totally insensitive to the importance of preservation of this calligraphy on these Nawabi structures and monuments. Most of this irretrievable heritage of Lucknow has already been lost and as the neglect continues, whatever remains of this rare art will also soon disappear, even if the monuments are themselves remain extant.



## MONUMENT TO HUNGER

Roshan Taqui

The great Imambara or Imambara of Nawab Asif-ud-daula at Lucknow ranks among the greatest architectural achievements of the Muslim period. By Imambara is meant a sacred building in which "Tazias" are placed in the month of Moharram, the month of mourning<sup>1</sup>. The word Imambara is a combination of two words, that is Imam and Bara, which means a sacred campus just like bari in Bengali. Therefore Imambara has the same meaning to that of "Thakur-Bari" in Bengali. There are a number of Imambaras at Lucknow and in different parts of the country, but the great Imambara has a different and interesting story of construction. During the famine of 1784 AD it has been constructed to help the people for food and living hood.

Asif-ud-daula was crowned as Nawab Wazir of Avadh in 1775 AD after the death of his father Nawab Shuja-ud-daula. He shifted his state capital from Faizabad to Lucknow. During those days, there were only few pockets of habitation and no city like limits and administration. As soon as Asif-ud-daula shifted, Lucknow was made the city including 22 habitations with limits with another two parganas Bijnaur and Kakori and the city was named after the name of the biggest habitation, Lucknow. Lucknow and adjoining areas were drought prone, had been famine stricken and had seen the famine of 1719, 1732, 1758 and 1769 AD. Asif-ud-daula divided Lucknow district into four tehsils<sup>2</sup> - Lucknow, Kursi, Mohanlalganj and Malihabad for smooth administration and better land management. It was further divided into small parganas for proper help to farmers in making their fields fertile.

The land was divided in four types - (1) Khalisa land, (2) Huzoor Tehsil, (3) Ijara land and (4) Amani. All types of land were available for irrigation either from tank or from shallow wells, for which human labour and bullocks were employed. The cost of the tank irrigation was calculated as eleven annas (Rs. 0.70) per acre<sup>3</sup>. Thus Asif-ud-daula created a system for land fertility:

"The aspect of the country is open Champion, well studded with villages, finely wooded, in places more fertile and in parts very highly cultivated"<sup>4</sup>

The city was upcoming and in fact was in the high steams of establishment. Delhi was declining and the foundation of Mughal Empire had become loosened. People from all walks of life had been pouring into Lucknow for want of job and bread. The prosperity had been prevailing in Avadh. Yet, in 1784 AD, there was famine for which it was said that every last year of century and specially the twelfth one shall be famine. The same thing about Barasadi, the twelfth century is written in Gazetteer:

"The scarcity of 1784-85, alluded to, seems to correspond with that known as Barasadi, corresponding with 1198-99 A.H. There does not appear to have been any serious failure of crop in Avadh, but owing to the growing influx of starving people from the north western provinces, prices rose, and the people suffered heavily."<sup>5</sup>

These starving people from North Western provinces created havoc in Lucknow, demand was fifty times more than supply and thus the prices of food grains rose sky high; wheat rose from 25 ser a Rupee to 8 ser a Rupee and barley 28 ser a Rupee to 10 ser a Rupee, the poor was badly hit. Nawab Asif-ud-daula pledged not to let a single person die of starvation<sup>6</sup>. He with his prime minister Mirza Hasan Raza Khan and Deewan Raja Tikait Rai, established a Charitable institution (Rifah-e-Aam) which relieved thousands.<sup>7</sup>

The selling price of wheat was fixed by Government at 9 and 10 sers for the Rupee, but in the Unnao District, which nearly adjoined the famine district, 5 and 6 sers a rupee is said to have been all that was procurable.

The export of grain was prohibited and all chungi was remitted; exporters were punished. Importers rewarded with dress of honour and the sale to one person, at one time, of more than one Rupee's worth was prohibited.<sup>8</sup>

It was all done for administrative control; but Asif-ud-daula was not mere an administrator, he was called the friend of people and the fraternal guardian. He adopted the policy- "food for all, job for all" to relieve the famine stricken subjects of Lucknow. He decided to start such a job oriented project, which could continue for years and could be a source of earning for all types of people. Then the idea of constructing a building emerged.

Kifayat-ullah Shahjahanabadi then drafted a drawing map of Imambara and the work was immediately started. Regular labours and the poor in thousands, used to work in the day to demolish and reconstruct what had been badly worked out in the night by torch light, in order that respectable men might earn food, who would be ashamed to be seen working by day.

Day and night, for several years, the construction work was carried on. Raja Jhau Lal, finance minister and Raja Tikait Rai Diwan, the confident lieutenants and Asif-ud-daula himself with his own hands distributed the salary to the people of Lucknow. This was the reason why people could not forget Asif-ud-daula even after one and a half century, as written in the Gazetteer:

"The people are never tired of talking of the liberality of Asif-ud-daula and his munificence. His name is first on the lips of the bania (trader), and as he takes his seat in his shop in the morning, he is wont to repeat a distich somewhat profane in his honour-

*"Jis ko na de Maula*

*Tis ko de Asif-ud-daula.<sup>10</sup>"*

*To whom the Lord does not give*

*Asif-ud-daula will.*

This Imambara was completed after 10 years in 1794 with an estimated cost of Rs. one Crore (Rs. Ten Lakh as per Tawarikh-e-Nadir-ul-Asr by Nawal Kishore) and is the proof of the will of Asif-ud-daula that the famine of 1784 like may never occur in the precincts of Lucknow.

As seen by the plan of the Imambara, the principal apartment is 162 feet long by 53 feet 6 inches wide. On the two sides are varandahs respectively 26 feet 6 inches and 27 feet 3 inches wide, and at each end an octagonal apartment, 53 feet in diameter, the whole interior dimension being thus 263 feet by 145 feet by 49½ feet. The main hall of the Imambara is considered as the largest vaulted hall in the world. No wood has been used in the whole building.

There are large underground chambers but the passages leading to those have been sealed. Above the entire hall in Bhul Bhulaiya, the labyrinth, in which there are many zig-zags and intricate paths where visitors always lose their way and it is impossible for them to come out without the help of the guide.



Since the construction of this great Imambara is based on the philosophy of help to "all human beings", there are a number of odd incidents connected with its construction and quality of strength. When the shuttering of the ceiling of the main hall was opened, it fell down to earth because of not having any support. Kifayat ullah once again tried but could not get success. Consequently, Nawab Asif-ud-daula was informed, who in turn ordered for its casting for the third time. On the day of opening of shuttering, Asif-ud-daula himself came and sat under it asking for opening of the shuttering. The shuttering loosened and removed and the large ceiling without any support is still there in its place.<sup>11</sup>

The second incident is after the 100 years of construction of Imambara, during the mutiny of 1857. As written in the Gazetteer:

"This immense building is covered with vaults of very simple form and still simpler construction, being of a rubble or coarse concrete, several feet in thickness..."<sup>12</sup>

"Not less remarkable is the contrast in the stability which the ancient and modern buildings present. Not a brick has fallen from the vast vault of the Imambara, now almost one hundred years old; and used as an arsenal. Huge 13-inch mortars and 8 inch guns are dragged about its sacred floors, .....and exposed to a five months cannonade from heavy artillery at three hundred yards during the mutiny of 1857"<sup>13</sup>

## References

1. Wajid Ali Shah and monuments of Avadh – a repertoire
2. Gazetteer of Avadh – 1869- p. 313
3. Land revenue records – chief court mutiny Basta No. 27
4. Gazetteer of Avadh – 1869 p. 303
5. Gazetteer of Avadh – 1869 p. 328
6. Asif-ud-daula – by M. Muttaqi, p. 39
7. Asif-ud-daula in Gazetteer of Avadh – p. 328
8. Ibid – p. 328
9. Tawarikh-e-Nadir-ul-Asr : Munshi Nawal Kishore , p. 159, also Gazetteer of Avadh, p. 328
10. Gazetteer of Avadh, 1869 , p. 369
11. As told by 92 years old Ferhat Hussain, the grand for or Dhrogha Mir Wajid Ali. This was the story of faith attached to the construction of Imambara. The civil enquiring and the techniques of construction requirs detailed descussion, which will be discussed in a separate papter.
12. Ibid – p – 364
13. Ibid – ps – 361

## THE FIRST QUEEN AND THIRD KING OF AVADH IN EXILE AT CHUNAR

S. Anwar Abbas

Since the inception of the dynasty of the Nawabs, with Subedari of Awadh in 1722, and till the forced abdication of king Wajid Ali Shah in February 1856, there have been twelve rulers, who were installed on the masnad of Awadh. But, two amongst them are often considered insignificant, and their names are not given in the lists of the Nawabs of Awadh or in their genealogical tables. Most writers just ignore them.

Amongst these two unfortunates, the first was Mirza Wazir Ali, who ascended the masnad on his father Nawab Asif-ud-daula's death on September 21, 1797. Incidentally, he had also acted as his father's naib for sometime. He was strongly averse to the interference of the British East India Company and its Resident in the internal affairs of the state.

*The company plotted his removal, by first setting afloat the rumour that he was not the son of Asif-ud-daulah, who was impotent. When this failed they started heaping charges of immoral behaviour through influential persons, who were actually on their pay roll and bore grudge against Wazir Ali. Since Wazir Ali was quite popular with his subjects, the British feared retaliation from the local populace. In a well planned move. Where the Uncle of Wazir Ali had already been summoned from exile at Benaras as a replacement, the British invited the ruler to talks at the far off Bibiapur Kothi, away from the city and interned him. On his refusal to abdicate, he was summarily dismissed and his Uncle Sadat Ali Khan, was appointed the Nawab Wazir of Awadh (When in fact the authority of dismissal and appointment vested with the Mughal King at Delhi).<sup>1</sup>*

Mirza Wazir Ali was deposed on January 21, 1798. He had four months to rule as the Nawab-Wazir of Awadh. However, the other

unfortunate personality, Fareedon Bakht, Rafi-ud-din Haider, Mohammed Mehdi alias Munna Jan had just four hours. The British did not recognise his installation as the third king on July 8, 1837, even though they had never opposed his designation as the heir-apparent.

Due to the egoistic follies of Ghazi-ud-din Haider and, thereafter, because of the waivered conduct of Naseer-ud-din Haider in recognition, then de-recognition and again recognition of Munna Jan as heir apparent, the British had the opportunity of disputing the legitimacy of Munna Jan as the son of Naseer-ud-din Haider and his claim to the throne.

Sleeman, in "Journey through the kingdom of oude" has given the reason for Ghazi-ud-din Haider's behaviour, that "the repudiation of Munna Jan arose entirely from a desire to revenge himself upon his tarmangant wife (Badshah Begum) whose furious temper left him no peace. She was from his (Munna Jan's) birth very fond of the boy, and to question his legitimacy was to wound her in her tenderest point. This was a raw(sic) which her husband established and which his son and successor afterwards worked upon."

Badshah Begum was well known as a strong-headed and stubborn lady 'of no meek spirits'. She had taken on herself the responsibility of bringing up Naseer-uddin Haider on his mother's death in his infancy. Later, her grandson, born to Naseer-ud-din Haider, through Sukh Chain, later titled Afzal Mahal, was also brought up by her, since his childhood.

The British were conscious of Badshah Begum's influence on her wards. They were also aware of her deep rooted hatred for the British East India Company and its Resident, for meddling with the affairs of her husband's administration, and later of her son's, particularly their opposition to her zeal in the propagation of her religious faith and innovative customs.

However, in Naseer-ud-din Haider's Kingship, the Resident succeeded in creating conflicts between the king and the Queen Mother, to the extent that the latter was forcibly dislodged from the Royal palace. Badshah Begum shifted to Ilmas Bagh, and took her grandson, Munna Jan along. It was during this period of conflict that Munna Jan was made and unmade the heir apparent. Finally, sometime before his death, Naseer-ud-din Haider recognised Munna Jan as his legitimate son and heir-apparent.

The Company had already decided to usurp the right of Munna Jan. Way back in December 1832, it instructed the Resident that "in case of the king's death without a son or a pregnant consort, to declare the eldest surviving brother of the Late king Ghazi-ud-deen Hyder, heir to the throne and have him installed upon it." (Sleeman....Journey through the.....)

Six and a half years latter, due to poisoning, Naseer-ud-din Haider died in the late hours of July 7, 1837. Conscious of the evil designs of the British, Badshah Begum took upon herself the challenge of installing her legitimate grandson Munna Jan as the third king of Awadh, knowing well that the British will oppose it with all their might. On July 8, 1837, Badshah Begum with her armed supporters and Munna Jan reached the Qasr-e-Sultan (Lal Baradari) from Ilmas Bagh. The acting British Resident was brought to the coronation hall to witness the coronation. The Acting Resident had already sent for his forces at the Mandion Cantonment. He waited till their arrival and then attacked the assembly. An armed conflict ensued between Badshah Begum, with her armed supporters on one side and the British forces all around the Lal Baradari with their guns and cannons. Eventually, the superiority of the British arms prevailed, and according to one account, 500 of Badshah Begum's supporters were killed. There was no casualty on the British side.

Munna Jan, Badshah Begum and Afzal Mahal were taken into custody and confined in the ordinary jail house at Tedhi Kothi. They were later taken to Chunar near Benaras to be confined in the fort's Jail House. (Rosie Llawellyn Jones in 'Enganing Scoundrals' has incorrectly stated that" Kaiwan Jah, who had taken no part in the affray" was also exiled with Munna Jan at Chunar. She is also wrong in suggesting "Small company pension" for them, because the pension was granted by King Mohammed Ali Shah, (who was placed upon the throne after Munna Jan's removal) and was paid by the royal treasury. According to Col. Sleeman it was Rs. 300/- per month.

The young Munna Jan died in captivity, ten years later on Safar 16, 1262 Hijri (1847 A.D.). His broken hearted grand mother Badshah Begum followed a year later and died on Safar 13, 1263 Hijri (1848 A.D.)

There is no information available about Afzal Mahal's death. Sleeman records her being alive at Chunar as guardian of the three sons of Munna Jan. Significantly, Sleeman has mentioned her as "Afzal Mahal, the mother of late Moona Jan" and has thus vindicated the

stand taken by Badshah Begum and which is in contradiction to the verdict of the British East India Company on this issue of legitimacy.

Sleeman enjoyed fine opportunities of forming a disinterested opinion after the heat of controversy had subsided and that a responsible English officer like Col. Sleeman could never have differed from his predecessors in office on such an important matter unless he had reason to do so." (Mohammed Taqui Ahmed, in his introduction to *Tareekh-e-Badshah Begum*).

Sleeman has also spoken of opinions of 'a good many members of the Royal family, who had been brought up from childhood with the deceased king Naseer-ud-din Hyder and (were) near his person to the last, declare that Munna Jan was his son and was exactly like him in person, voice and temper.'

The British Resident Sleeman's endorsement for Munna Jan and Badshah Begum's stand induces me to recite a popular Urdu couplet:-

*'Wo aaye hain pasheman laash par ab  
Tujhe ai zindagi laaon kahan se.'*

(They now appear repentant over my corpse oh dear life in me, how do I retrieve them.

Sometimes, one loses rare opportunities unknowingly. I was at Chunar for some months during 1963-1964 supervising erection of trunk electricity lines for the town, but then I had no idea of the History of the Nawabs of Awadh and their connections with Chunar. Later, on knowing it, I felt inclined to visit Chunar but this could only materialise this year in March, 2000. The visit was somewhat disappointing and I would have got more information if I had come earlier. However, it proved rewarding as I was able to meet the last descendant of Munna Jan.

In Chunar, I could not find the graves of Badshah Begum or Munna Jan. I was informed that they were buried in the *Shahi Imambara*. At the site of this *Imam Bara*, I found that it had already crumbled due to the vagaries of nature. Some broken portions of the boundary and one side wall of the *Imambara* containing seven Archways now remains. The second archway from one end appeared taller than the other and had probably served as the main entrance. I was told that Munna Jan and Badshah Begum were buried just in front of this entrance. With cattle straying in from nearby cowsheds and children using the place as a playground, I believe soon these

remains will also vanish. No one had any clue to Afzal Mahal's grave. Closeby, about 100 yards from the Shahi Imambara a stone Chabutra (Platform) exists in the middle of a lane near a hakim's matab (clinic). It was said to be used by Afzal Mahal for placing her Tazias during Moharram near the Imambara, that is said to have been built at her behest. The practice continues even today.

I met Nawab Nihal-ud-din Haider, Asif Jah, who is now about 90 years old and is the sole surviving descendant of Munna Jan. He is the great grandson of Munna Jan. His Kothi is situated just opposite the Shia Shahi Masjid (Mosque). Both these structures appear to be of the same period and are built in stone. The mosque also houses a Zari, which is taken out in procession during Moharram. A grand double storeyed yellow house, with free standing stone figures on its top also exists near the Nawab's house and faces the mosque. I was told that this was the original house that belonged to the Nawabi family, and had been mortgaged by one of the descendants. It was later forfeited on account of non payment of the loan. The Nawab's present dwelling has old colonial style gate posts crowned with large inverted urns in stone.

Asif Jah had little to narrate on account of his failing health and memory. He appeared concerned about the future of the Nawabi Property.

I was not in a position to provide any satisfactory reply to his concern. I suggest now, that the Archaeological Department should take up the preservation and conservation of these remnants of the Nawabi structures at Chunar. Otherwise, the least that can be done is the erection of a memorial stone, in the honour of Badshah Begum, at the site of her last resting place. After all, the brave lady defied the British some 20 years before the first war of independence in a 'coup d'etate' must be honoured.

### References

1. A graphic account of the life of Nawab Wazir Ali is now available in Dr. H.A. Qureshi's thesis "The Flickers of an Independent Nawabs: Nawab Wazir Ali Khan of Avadh" in two volumes published by the New Royal Book Company, Lalbagh Lucknow. According to him Nawab Asif-ud-daula had died on 20th September 1797 and that Mirza Wazir Ali never named as Asif Jah. What is written from "The Company plotted his removal.....the Mughal King of Delhi" does not comply with the research work of Dr. Qureshi-Editor.

# CONSERVATION OF THE IMAMBARAS

## Search for a Solution

Neeta Das

### Background

Lucknow is my ancestral town and there is a whole locality here, Narahi, where my extended family stays. Hence, when my architect husband and me decided to settle here, the first thing that interested me was the architectural heritage of the city. I have spent my entire childhood playing among these buildings with my friends and family. Therefore, now that I was a trained architect, I decided to study them. However, to my disappointment, I found that at the time there was very little information on these buildings, leave alone any comprehensive study of the same. Thus, along with my private practice, I took it upon myself to document some of the Imambaras, which was later published as a book by the Lucknow Mahotsav Patrika Samittee.

My hobby was slowly converted into a deeper inquiry about the buildings of Lucknow and I proceeded to do my Masters in Architectural History (from University of Cincinnati, USA). Again my dissertation topic was on Lucknow, only this time it was centered around interpretation of these buildings with the intention of discovering their architectural importance within the framework of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century architecture of India.

On my return to India as I continued to do work on these historical buildings, I went back to them year after year, sometimes with fellow researchers. To my dismay, I found that on every subsequent visit a part of an old structure was mutilated or destroyed. Despite my technical knowledge about building construction and historical background of each heritage building, I felt helpless that I could do very little to conserve them. Therefore, I started working towards (my doctorate) on the conservation of the same as I hope to give back something to the city that has given me so much.

### **Imambaras of Lucknow**

The Imambaras form a substantial sum of the buildings built by the Nawabs. An Imambara is a unique building type of muslims, where the institutionalized mournig ritual – Azadari of Shii'sm is performed. The ritual oriented religious building has been identified as Imambara or Azakhana, which literally means, 'the house of mourning.' The Imambara represents a building specifically built, or a space specially enclosed, to facilitate the mourning rituals. It also houses the insignias related with such ceremonies and in due course of time, they became the primary religious and social centres of the Shias. Excluding the namaaz, which is performed in the mosques, all other activities are held here.

Imambaras have taken an important part in a Shia's life and even the poorest household would have a place of honour set aside as an Imambara. Even if it is a small niche in the wall covered with a black curtain where few humble objects and scriptures are placed. Families better off have allocated rooms for this. Bigger rooms also have a pulpit for the preacher to sit on. This room is used for sitting at other times of the year. Affluent Shia rulers and nobles built many large Imambaras for public use. Thus, there are many Imambaras in Lucknow and they vary in shape and sizes. Some of these are very small while others are large monumental buildings and complexes.

### **Problems facing the Imambaras**

Excluding a handful of the large Imambaras in Lucknow that are looked after by the ASI most Imambaras are in urgent need of attention. The first problem facing these structures is their ownership. Most of these structures are privately owned. Added to which are the joint and multiple ownership of the same building. In the absence of any one owner, it is difficult for any agency, government or private, to negotiate funding for its maintenance and repair. The second problem facing these structures is their material of construction and that they are embedded within the dense city fabric. Most of these Imambaras are made out of brick and stucco unlike the other monuments of India that are made out of stone. Brick structures have a shorter life span than stone sturctures making it more difficult to preserve them. Furthermore, since these Imambaras are a part of a dense city, they are being destroyed because of obsolete services like drainage and sewerage, which plague the older parts of Lucknow.



Finally, there is the problem of insensitive additions, alterations and improper usage of these buildings. Modification of a historic building destroys its original character, as does improper usage.

Much has been talked about these old buildings: their glorious past, their historical value and their dilapidated condition today. Various committees have been made, many seminars organized and much media coverage has been given to this issue. In all such meetings, no one spares in criticizing the Government and its various departments, which are involved with conservation. All this shows that the citizens are deeply concerned for the city and its heritage. These buildings give the historic city its unique character and without them, the place would not be the same again. However, it should be understood that it is not possible for the government to maintain all the buildings that are of historical value.

I strongly feel, it is the responsibility of both the government and non-government organizations like ASI, INTACH, HARCA, U.P Tourism to create awareness among the masses so that they assume the responsibility, which till today has been forced upon the government agencies only. The city belongs to its citizens, therefore, they became the prime users, abusers and keepers of the same! Citizens of a historic city should be responsible for their heritage and thereby try to look after it, as is the case in Britain.

### **Search for Solution**

Throughout Britain, the remains of over six thousand years of human settlement survive, often layer upon layer as sites have been built and rebuilt during many centuries. Thus, the built heritage provides a backdrop to everyday life in Britain. Many people live or work in one of the half million or so officially recognized historic buildings. Millions each year visit historic houses or cathedrals for enjoyment and education. Over the past century, Britain has developed an elaborate system of legal protection for the heritage, unparallel with the land use planning laws. Most importantly, in Britain millions of people are actively engaged in caring for historic properties. Besides the government, everyone who lives or works in a listed building takes part, whether as the owner of a large house which has belonged to the same family for centuries, or someone who has bought an old cottage as a first home and wants to repair and improve it in an historically appropriate way. Millions of people belong to societies and charities, which exist to further the cause of

historic conservation.

A number of bodies like *Heritage Education Trust*, *CADW* and *Center for Environmental Interpretation* are concerned with environmental interpretation and education. They encourage school visits and provide training course for teachers, publications, and teaching materials. The Historic Houses Association represents the interests of the private owners of some 1300 historic houses and gardens. It campaigns for legal and tax changes, which will make it easier for private owners to repair and maintain such properties. It also advises its members on a wide range of questions including how best to open their homes to the public. Continuing conservation program in the city of Chester emphasizes in particular the essential role of local co-operation and support extended right upto the individual owners of property. Public sympathy was educated and encouraged by a number of special projects including the establishment of a heritage center and an urban study center in two disused churches. The emphasis was on action, through the agency of normal development control.

### Recommendations

To start such a community participation programme here in Lucknow, the concerned agencies will need to break the conservation process into four stages: Identification and short listing of the heritage buildings, detailed documentation of the same; education to encourage public sympathy; and maintenance of the listed historic buildings by offering technical support to the owners and assisting them in rehabilitation and reuse.

There are hundreds of Imambaras in Lucknow. Therefore, it is important that these be short-listed, identified, and properly documented. An eminent conservation personnel, Sir Bernard Fielden, slated in his talk last year, here in Lucknow that, 'All buildings are the same till a historian comes, picks it up, talks about it, discusses its importance and makes it into a monument'. Once in limelight it was then that the conservation department takes up the responsibility of maintaining such monuments.

Since some buildings are in a dilapidated condition, and some that cannot be repaired, and others that have been fated to be razed down, like Noor Manzil and Pioneer, a detailed documentation of these through text, drawings and photographs is a must as these

buildings can then be conserved for the future generation, even if on paper only. A study of the buildings that have been destroyed helps in filling in the gaps while assisting in the meaningful reconstruction of history of any city.

Once the listing and documentation is done, it would be necessary to approach the owners of these buildings and educate them about the importance of their Imambara. In the United States, in a similar exercise with other building type, the owners were given a metal plaque with the details of the building. This was placed outside their building and was similar to the placard placed by the ASI on all its protected sites. This not only gave the owner a sense of pride but also prompted many passerbies to stop and admire the building. Over a period of time, owners became interested in the historical value of their buildings and started maintaining them. A step further can be taken and school going children could also be educated through lectures, workshops and walks through the city as they are the future residents of Lucknow.

Finally, if agencies like the ASI, UPSC, UP Tourism and INTACH could be persuaded to assist these owners and provide them with requisite technical know how on conservation and preservation of their buildings, many Imambaras could be maintained. The owners could also be advised about proper ways of altering their building, reusing them, or using them for tourism purposes. In the future, one can also try to get some funding for the owners of these heritage buildings. Some government, semi-government and private agencies could also adopt these buildings and assist in their upkeep.

All exercise like this can be done for the Imambara and or any other heritage building of Lucknow. Once this is done, the task of conserving the city will become much easier. The government could then be assisted in working towards planning legislation for the city. In cities like Mumbai, listing similar to these have legal backing, and the character of the historic buildings and heritage precincts are protected within such laws. To start with, every citizen should start respecting their built environment and assist in the conservation of their heritage by keeping some basics in mind:

1. Urinating on the walls destroys the building and they should not be used in place of public toilets.
2. Graffiti also spoils the aesthetic quality of heritage or any building.

3. Pigeons cause severe maintenance problems, blocking rainwater disposal systems and encourage breeding of other pests in their debris; thus, tourists should be discouraged from feeding pigeons.
4. The multiple layers of signage, especially in streets like Hazratganj, hide our rich heritage. Signboards and hoardings should be displayed judiciously.
5. Many heritage buildings like Imambara Malka Zamania are used as garbage dumps. This garbage mound will slowly conquer the building. Therefore, it is necessary we do not dispose our garbage on any open plot or building of Imambara.
6. One should take care while laying service lines like TV cables, electirc cables, etc. Not only do these spoil the building but also the ambience.
7. Any damaged drain and sewerage pipes should be immediately repaired, as soil water from these will ultimately harm the building.
8. The terraces should be kept clean and free of moss and plants. Free flowing rain water pipes help in draining the terraces and greatly reduce the dampness of buildings.
9. Trees start as tiny plants but they grow. Any outgrowth of pipal, or any other tree, in or around the building should be removed as they can break down masonry and split rocks with their roots.
10. Finally, a conservation architect should be consulted for any alteration, addition or rehabilitation of a heritage building.



## STRATIFICATION OF PEASANTS IN AVADH 1722-1856

Hamid Afaq Qureshi

The land revenue was the chief source of income for the state, in the medieval and colonial periods. The peasant, who generated this surplus, always played a very conspicuous role in the economy of any period of history we may brood upon. The meaning of the word "Peasant" is in itself an indicator of their socio-economic condition.

According to Prof. Irfan Habib the peasants is "a person who undertakes agriculture on his own by using the labour of his family, and working with his own implements."<sup>1</sup> But when "the extent of use of hired labour and the control over land" are taken into consideration, it is found that there are "the rich peasant (with using family labour) and the poor peasant (with land insufficient to absorb the whole of family labour); and the "the peasant-proprietor the peasant with some claim to permanent or long-term occupancy and the seasonal share-cropper." Viewing the peasant purely at the economic level by considering the "wealth" at his command, a distinction may be found on the basis of the "ownership of more expensive and productive devices, better cattle, more fertile land, etc." Thus, according to Prof. Irfan Habib all these categories do not "coincide" with each other and "the stratification that we would be meeting with can be viewed in the context of all these criteria".<sup>2</sup> His studies on the peasant history utilise all these classifications to establish differentiation within the peasantry.

The Persian Chroniclers have categorised the peasants into Khudkasht, Paikasht and Mujran. Summarising these references, Dr. Satish Chandra informs that Khudkasht peasant was the proprietor of the land tilling it with his own bullocks, ploughs and family labour, paying traditional land revenue on concessional rates in comparison of the current one, sometimes exempted from the cesses paid to the zamindar but paying the traditional taxes and cesses for the village expenses, could select the fields in the village and utilise the general

facilities, ponds and forests of the village, mortgage or transfer his proprietary rights and his land could not be sold for meeting the arrears of the State.<sup>3</sup> However, by Eighteenth Century, his position had considerably transformed and except the right of occupancy, even which was not universally recognized, no other right had remained to him.<sup>4</sup> Paikasht were outsiders, who settled in the village in temporary shelters and were of two categories. One, who had their own oxen and ploughs and the other who had none. It is difficult to distinguish the latter from the Mujran or Bataidar. Mujran were those peasants, who took oxen and ploughs from the kalantrans (Rich persons of the village) and Halmirs (Those who had 6-8 ploughs to raise crops on batai).<sup>5</sup>

In the above mentioned categories of the *Perisna* Chroniclers, Moreland also includes the Zamindars;<sup>6</sup> but Noman Ahmad Siddiqui neither agrees with him nor includes the zamindars in the category of the peasants because the zamindars had hereditary and transferable proprietary rights whereas the peasants, irrespective of having or not having the occupancy rights could not sell or mortgage his lands and who are referred to as "Mujran, Assami or Ri'aya by the Persian Chroniclers."<sup>7</sup>

In Eighteenth Century, the disruption of the over-riding Mughal Central authority, the springing up of to a large extent autonomous dynasties in the Subas including Awadh and the establishment of the rising but vanquishing power of the Britishers, reduced the peasant to the level of the most exploited class. The zamindars particularly sapped their incomes most and tried to appropriate as much of their surplus as possible. Reflecting on this position, Wilton Oldham writes that the peasants were not found claiming more than the hereditary entitlement of being continued in occupancy as long as they paid the current revenue but they could not sell or transfer it by mortgage or otherwise and once they gave up its occupation they could not regain it.<sup>8</sup> By the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in Awadh, the zamindars are found in a position to evict the raiyats after the expiry of the period of contract or in the absence of its renewal and he could not sell, mortgage or transfer his occupancy without the consent of the zamindar. During the entire Nawabi and Shahi days of the History of Awadh (1722-1856), the peasants are not found having any proprietary rights and even their right of occupancy was not permanent. A majority of them were liable to be ejected at the end of each successive years. However, Moreland has rightly

remarked. "These discordant reports may well represent real local differences, but the truth is that whatever views expressed on the subject were at this period largely theoretical, land lay waiting for peasants and so rights could not arise in practice on any considerable scale. A manager might or not be able to turn out a peasant, but he would be a fool to do so when nobody was available to take his place. That is the gist of the numerous reports, and the absence of competition for land is borne out abundantly from other sources."<sup>10</sup>

The age-old tradition were also responsible for this economic and social predicament of the peasants. These are reverberated in a passage of Qazi Mohammad Ali, who wrote in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century and says<sup>11</sup> that before.

*The conquests of the Muslim rulers, the rajas used to collect Kharaj (land tax) from the peasants. The latter out of respect and devotion to the rajas used to acknowledge them as proprietors of all land and regarded themselves as their cultivators only. Although with the Islamic conquests the rajas lost their sovereignty, the sultans let them remain as chief (rausa) over the peasants. They are now called zamindars. The zamindars have been given the task of collecting the tax from the peasants. Yet because the ancestors of the peasants had recognised the pre-Islamic potentates (rausa) as proprietors, they continue to recognise their descendants, the zamindars, as proprietors as well. In fact they permit the zamindars to evict at will any of the peasants (raiya) and lease out the land to someone else. The land tax (mahsul-i-arazi) is derived not on the zamindars, but on the peasants. But since the peasants (raiya) have never claimed to be "proprietors" they too cannot be so recognised".*

The position in the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century in the Doab, a part of which was in Awadh, is delineated by Chhatar mal,<sup>12</sup> who says: "In every village there are some muqaddams (headmen) who are the proprietors of the village and hundreds of persons called asami (peasants), that is cultivators; the asamis with the approval of the revenue-collectors and the permission of those Muqaddams, prepare their fields, delimit them and cultivate the land, and pay the revenue as fixed at the beginning of the season, to the government through the Muqaddams. Most of the Muqaddams who organise their own (Khud-kasht) cultivation, engage wage labourers as servants, and set them to agricultural work. Obliging them to do the ploughing, sowing, reaping and watering of (the field) from the well, they pay

them fixed wages, either in cash or kind. The crop of the field belongs to them, so that they are both *Muqaddams* and *asamis* in respect of their *khudkasht*." It clearly indicates that the *khudkasht* in comparison of *paikasht* were economically better placed. However, it should also be borne in mind that "The *zamindars* were not universal intermediaries. The existence of peasant held (*raiyyati*) areas was a very important aspect of the agrarian system"<sup>13</sup> and it accounts for as to why there is omission of references to *zamindars* in the Mughal revenue documents and Moreland<sup>14</sup> and Saran<sup>15</sup> are inclined "to equate the Mughal *Zamindar* with vassal chief only".

Various economic burdens on the peasants further clarify their socio-economic condition. If he was not ingoing any revenue free land, then the *zamindar* was entitled to a part or the produce of the land either in the form of cash or corn called *Russoom-i-zamindari*<sup>16</sup> and he also collected certain other cesses known as *Huqooq-e-zamindari*.<sup>17</sup> When he was contracted for the land revenue, he received his *russom* as *Nankar*. Generally, its rate was two *biswa* per *bigha* or 5% of the total collected revenue.<sup>18</sup> But under the Nawabs and Kings of Awadh, when the *zamindars* were generally powerful and in a position to oppose their authority, its rate depended on the level of curb which the local revenue officers (*Amils*, *Chakladars* and *Ijaradars*) etc. would exercise on them and it could be anything ranging from 1% to 20%.<sup>19</sup> When powerful local officers held the lands of the *zamindars* as *Sir* or *Khan*, they paid them *Malikana* at the rate of 10% or *dobiswi* or none<sup>20</sup> at all when the *zamindar* was imprisoned. However, like *nankar*, the rate of *malikana* also varied from place to place under the same conditions.<sup>21</sup> This burden was naturally on the peasants, who had also to pay *nazranas* (monetary offerings) and other cesses to the *zamindars* from time to time<sup>22</sup> and to spare his ploughs for the use of the *zamindar* free of cost.<sup>23</sup> They had also to pay the village expenses in addition to these. Their social degradation had reached to such a low ebb that the *zamindar* could utilise their services in raising huts and for every personal work;<sup>24</sup> but this sort of exploitation seems to be restricted to the lowest strata of the peasantry. Another factor responsible for the maximum possible exploitation of the peasants was the adoption of, to a large extent, *ijaradari* system by the Nawabs and kings of Awadh. Sometimes it was pushed up to such an extent that a single *Ijaradar* *Almas Ali Khan* had the *ijaradari* of virtually half of Awadh.<sup>25</sup> For want of data, exact figures can not be quoted to elaborate the point but it is certain



that Almas Ali Khan, after paying the dues of his ijaradari amassed 1,07,870-10-0 during the period 1185-1196 Fasli alone by falling short of his engagement every year and giving Qubuliyats for each succeeding year on a decreased jama but realising every pie from the peasants.<sup>26</sup> Moreover the rate of the land revenue realised from the peasants was also very heavy. Even in the Amani areas, the Amils, Qanungos and the commandants of the army are found oppressing the riots at their will.<sup>27</sup> Numerous instances come to the light that the entire crops, cattle and property were seized, grains sold and the rent-payers compelled to sell off their property.<sup>28</sup> Sub-renting by ijaradars further led to the exploitation of the peasants.<sup>29</sup> They were better placed and less exploited only when the zamindars or the ijaradars and other state revenue officials were of good disposition and cared for the betterment of agriculture but the instances are few.

Jati-wise stratification of the peasantry under the Nawabs and Kings of Awadh is also visible. The Brahmin and Rajput peasants are generally found to be khudkasht and Kori, Kachhi, Gujar, Pasi etc. Paikasht.<sup>30</sup> The Brahmin and Rajput peasants also paid revenue at confessional rates in comparison to the other castes and the former often defied the authority of the zamindars and other revenue officers, who had to use force against them to realise the revenue.<sup>31</sup> Other castes like Chamar, Dhanuks and Ahirs etc. are found to be mere workers in the fields of the zamindars. The peasant is also found in a bond of servitude as is evident from the fact that their cattle, crop and property is sold for realising the tax<sup>32</sup>, which was his obligation, and the utilisation of the right of zamindar to force the peasants to cultivate the land, preventing them from leaving it and bringing them back if they abandoned it.<sup>33</sup>

The caste system, social structure and interaction between various segments of the rural society does not appear to have experienced much change as it was in pre-advent of the Muslims' days and a faint idea of which can be formed by the quotations of Qazi Mohammad Ala and Chhatar Mal already cited. The position seems to be static and stagnant and very little changes in it are ascertainable.

## References

1. Irfan Habib. *The Peasants in Indian History*, Presidential Address 43<sup>rd</sup> Session, Indian History Congress, Kurukshetra, 1982, Gopal Printers, Aligarh, p. 2.

2. *Ibid*
3. Satish Chandra. *Medieval India: Society, the Jagidari Crisis and the village* (Macmillan, Delhi, 1982) 32-39, 169-171.
4. K.P. Misra. *Benares in Transition, 1738-1795* (New Delhi, 1975), 68-74.
5. Satish Chandra. *op.cit*, 32-39, 169-171.
6. W.H. Moreland: *The Agrarian System of Muslim India* (Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, Delhi, 1968), 161.
7. Noman Ahmad Siddiqui: *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, 1700-1785* \*Bombay, 1970) 22026.
8. Wilton Oldham: *Historical and Statistical Memoirs of the Ghazipur Distt.* (Allahabad, 1876), Part II, 27.
9. *See various reports in the proceedings of the Board of Revenue/Commissioners in Ceded and Conquered Provinces, 1800-1822* (State Archives, Lucknow)
10. Moreland: *op. cit.*, 41.
11. Qazi M.Ala: *Risala Akham-i-Arazi* (MS Abdus Salam Collection, AMU), 43a-62; (MS Lytton Collection), 53a-62b.
12. Chhatar Mal: *Diwan Pasand*, Br. Mus. Or. 2011, 7b-8a (Cited in Irfan Habib: *op.cit.*, 41).
13. Irfan Habib: *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* (Bombay, 1963), 118, 141-44.
14. Moreland: *op.cit.*, 122-23.
15. P. Saran: *The Provincial Government of the Mughals 1625-1658* (Allahabad, 1941), 111 & n.
16. *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue/Commissioners, 1803-1822.*
17. Irfan Habib: *The Agrarian System of the Mughals*, 144.
18. Noman Ahmad Siddiqui: *op. cit.*, 47-48.
19. *Proceedings Board of Revenue/Commissioners, 1802-1822.*
20. Irfan Habib: *the Agrarian System of the Mughals*, 146-147.
21. Wilton Oldham: *op. cit.*, 94.
22. *Reports of Revenue Officers vide Oudh General Files* (State Archives, Lucknow)
23. *Ibid*.
24. *Ibid*.
25. *Political Letter from Court, 15 May, 1799, Para 41* (NAI, Delhi).
26. *Statement of the Etaya Corah Provinces during Almass Ally Cawn's Administration* (Appendix to the India Courier Extraordinary, Vol. IV, Printed 1786).
27. *Henry Wellesly's Correspondence, 1801-1-03* (Allahabad, 1955) Nos.3, 17, 74, 77.
28. *Ibid*, 3.
29. *Ibid*, 11.
30. *Reports of the Collectors of Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Faizabad vide Oudh General Files*.
31. *Calendar of Persis Correspondence, Vol.V. No. 773. G. Forester a journey from Bengal to England* (London, 1808), I, 104-5.
32. *Henry Wellesly Correspondence, No.3.*
33. *Reports of Collectors of different regions vide Oudh General Files.*

# PEASANTRY IN ECONOMIC DISTRESS DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION : THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH 1900-1940

S. P. Mishra

The relationship between rent and revenue on the one hand and prices on the other need examination to get an idea of monetary and real burden of the rent and revenue which tenants and zamindars had to pay from time to time. Usually, the rent and revenue-fixing procedures at the time of land settlements take into account the prevailing prices of the agricultural produce. But with the passage of time due to changing prospects of crops, price levels changed. Since the prices changed, the rental and revenue demands also changed. But it had not always been done proportionately and equitably in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. In the province this problem assumed greater importance in the thirties as the monetary and real burden of rent and revenue had increased due to fall in the agricultural prices. It led to acute agrarian distress in both the regions of Agra and Oudh of this province. But Oudh was more affected by this problem than Agra because the practice of taking nazrana and other illegal exaction was more common in Oudh than in Agra. Moreover, within the same province this problem affected different regions differently at one point of time as well as different periods of time.

## Changing Agricultural Prices

The following figures of agricultural prices per maund in rupees bring out the gravity of the agrarian situation of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in the Thirties.<sup>1</sup>

**Table 1 : Agricultural Prices in U. P.**

Year	Rupees		Per		Mounds	
	Wheat	Barley	Gram	Rice	Sugarcane	Cotton
1873	2.1	1.9	1.39	3.12	N.A.	N.A.
1914-1915	5.0	3.00	3.3	5.7	N. A.	N. A.
1916- 1920	5.39	4.0	4.56	6.24	8.82	36.64
June 1931	2.3	1.5	2.1	4.25	4.5	12.0

The above statistics show that the prices of the main staple crops in 1931 did not differ substantially from those of 1873 and the difference between the prices in 1931 and the preceding quinquennium (1916-1920) showed a decrease varying from 100 to 300 per cent according to the variety of the produce. Though the figures for sugarcane and cotton for 1873 and 1914-15 are not available but we have reasons to believe that the prices in the case of both these commodities must have been much higher than the 1931 rates.

The following table of index numbers and prices per maund from 1880 to 1931 has been taken from the *Young India*.<sup>2</sup>

**Table 2 : Index Number of Prices in U.P.**

Year	Prices Index Number (Basis 1873 = 100)	Price Per maund (in Rs)
1880	118	1.5
1881-1885	100	1.68
1886-1890	119	2.08
1891-1895	128	2.22
1896-1900	166	2.75
1901-1905	136	2.34
1906-1910	195	3.56
1911-1915	194	3.31
1916-1920	272	4.63
1921-1925	294	4.73
1926-1928	300	4.9
May 1931	132	2.3

The above figures show that the agricultural prices in 1931 had fallen down to the 1901 level. The index number of prices in 1931

was 132 and during 1901-1905 it was 136 and the price per maund in 1931 was Rs. 2.3 and during 1901-1905 it was Rs 2.34.

The following figures of total rental demands show the increase in rents during 1893-94 and 1929-30.

**Table 3 : Total Rental Demand in U. P. (Figure in lakhs)**

Year	Agra	Oudh	Total
1893-94	832	367	1199
1898-99	842	363	1211
1914-15	1073	520	1593
1928-29	1306	575	1880
1929-30	N. A.	N. A.	1940

The above figures show an increase of about 63% between 1893-94 and 1929-30. The increase, however, was not uniform. The percentage between 1893-94 and 1914-15 was 33 in the provinces and 29 and 42 in Agra and Oudh respectively, while between 1914-15 and 1928-29 corresponding figures were 22, 10 and 18.<sup>3</sup> On the whole, the increases in Agra and Oudh during 1893-94 and 1929-30 have been almost even with the difference that while, in Agra the rate of increase has not been subject to marked fluctuations, in Oudh the rate of increase in the earlier part was much higher than in the later.

It is to be noted that the enhancement in revenue demand has not kept pace either with the rise in prices of agricultural produce or with the rate of enhancement in rent. It is clear from the following figures:

**Table 4 : Rent and Revenue in U. P. 1898-99 to 1929-30**

(in Lakh Rupees)

Year	Rent	Revenue
1898-99	1211	619
1914-15	1593	651
1929-30	1940	707

The above figures show that while in 1898-99 the total revenue demand of the province was more than half of the total rental demand, in 1929-30. It was only 36.4 percent.

If we compare the prices of the foodgrains and the rent and the revenue demand in 1998-99 with those in 1914-15 and 1930-31, we get the following index numbers :

**Table 5 : Index Number of Prices, Revenue and Rent : 1898-99 to 1929-30**

Year	Index Numbers		
	Prices	Revenue	Rent
1898-99	100	100	100
1914-15	117	105	131
1930-31	80	113	160

These figures show that while compared to those in 1898-99 the prices have gone down by 20%, the revenue has increased by 13% and rents by 60%.

From the above analysis of changing situation of rents, revenue and prices we arrive at the conclusion that rental and revenue demands have not adjusted proportionately with the changing prices. A continuous series of data regarding prices, rents and revenue relating to the period 1900 to 1940 has been presented in table 6. A comparison in the increase in the rent rates of the stable tenants with those of the ordinary tenants has also been attempted.

**Table 6 : Index Numbers of Prices, Rents and Revenue in the United Provinces:**

1900-1940 (Base 1901-1905 = 100)

Year	Wholesale Price	Rents of Stable Tenants	Rent of Ordinary Tenants	Land Revenue Demand
1	2	3	4	5
1900	126	99	96	-
1901	107	99	96	99
1902	96	99	98	100
1903	95	102	100	101
1904	89	97	102	98
1905	109	103	103	101
Average 1901-1905	100	100	100	100
1906	129	104	106	101
1907	137	104	107	102

*Contd...*

1908	163	105	108	102
1909	136	105	111	102
1910	127	106	112	103
1911	120	106	115	103
1912	126	106	116	103
1913	144	107	117	103
1914	165	108	119	103
1915	173	109	120	103
1916	160	111	121	104
1917	158	111	122	104
1918	200	111	125	104
1919	258	109	128	104
1920	243	113	133	107
1921	258	114	134	108
1922	236	115	137	108
1923	182	117	139	108
1924	187	118	142	108
1925	220	119	144	109
1926	230	120	146	109
1927	217	120	146	109
1928	218	120	146	109
1929	218	120	165	110
1930	162	121	166	111
1931	112	121	165	112
1932	119	120	162	112
1933	114	121	161	112
1934	103	121	161	112
1935	122	120	160	113
1936	118	120	160	113
1937	131	120	158	113
1938	121	108	152	111
1939	141	119	148	111
1940	141	N. A.	N.A.	N.A.

Source: Raj Bahadur Gupta: "Agricultural Prices in the United Provinces", Bureau of Statistics and Economic Research, U. P. Allahabad, 1941, Statement III (a), pp. 70-71.

The above figures of rents, revenue and prices for the period 1900-1940 show that there is no direct coreflation between them. The index number of the revenue demand has continuously, though slowly, increased and in 1935 it stood at 13% above the base period 1901-05. The index number of the rents of the stable tenants moved at a slower pace than that of ordinary, the former in 1935 stood at 120 and the latter at 160 as compared to 1901-05. The index number of the wholesale prices of agricultural produce has shown a marked continuous increase upto 258, the increase being most marked during 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921 and 1922 when the index number stood at 200, 258, 243, 258, and 236 respectively as compared to 1901-05. During the depression the agricultural prices fell heavily and the index number of wholesale prices stood at 112, 119, 114, 103 and 122 in 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934 and 1935 respectively as compared to 1901-05.

The conclusion from the above facts is important. As the land revenue demand is rigidly fixed over long intervals of time, the rents are also fixed, but the landlords enhance them even during the currency of the settlement. The sharp fluctuations in prices affect the entire agrarian sector. Excessive fluctuations of price levels (rising or falling) favorably or adversely affect the divergent interests of the Government, the landlords and cultivators in different degrees. But falling prices mostly hit the cultivating classes.

### References

1. Cited in *Agrarian Distress in the United Provinces*, 1931, p.6.
2. *Ibid.* p.6.





## AWADH 1856-1916

### A Social, Political and Economic History

After Bengal, Awadh can serve as a very viable model for studying the impact of the colonial regime on indigenous economy and culture. Upto its annexation in 1856, Awadh had a peculiar position: it was at once the "native state" on which British day-to-day control was the greatest, and yet the state and its internal conditions were repeatedly denounced by British officials. The question has long been asked whether "misgovernment" of Awadh was the real issue behind the annexation and whether the British had other motives in effecting it. In case these other motives existed, what steps were taken to realise them after annexation. Hypothetically, two can be identified: revenue-maximization and conquest of the local market. The first defined the British attitude towards the *taluqdars* a crucial element at the heart of the 1857 rebellion.

The annexation had cultural consequences as well. The disruption of old agrarian relations in turn led to the decline of "Awadh culture", as court patronage to artists, poets, dancers and musicians dwindled away. Its survival, however, continued as a distinctive heritage into British Raj. The post-mutiny revenue policy and commercialisation induced by the railways brought about a reversal in the fortunes of the *taluqdars*. This is seen in the increase in the value of the *taluqdari* estates and the extraordinarily large proportion of peasants recognised as tenants-at-will in Awadh. An effort would be made in this thesis to work out the movements of rents and prices in Awadh in order to illustrate the extent of change in the conditions of the *taluqdars*. The new situation of the *taluqdars* moulded their new attitude to the British colonial regime and led to an increasing thought uneven acceptance of its culture. The limits and features of this distorted or stunted westernisation set the frame for what can be a fascinating study of cultural change, elite formation and "identity" (communal, caste) creation.

These postulated changes lead me to consider another

hypothesis : the emergence of "moderate" nationalism in Awadh, as particularly suited to the taluqdari ethos of loyalism and competition. Its ultimate triumph would appear to be the hosting of the Congress and Muslim League session at Lucknow in 1916.

Below the taluqdars and their dependants stood the lower classes, notably, the peasantry and the landless labourers. Before 1916 their resentment does not seem to have obtained a viable political form; and this might be the reason for the exclusion from Awadh of the rigour of the tenancy legislation of Mahalwari areas of U. P. However, the entire theme especially in its social and cultural aspects needs investigation.

Historians have long recognised the importance of Awadh as a subject of historical study. This is quite evident from the numbers of studies that recent years have seen. Richard Barnett, *North India Between Empires, Avadh, The Mughals and the British, 1720-1801*; T.R. Metcalf, *Land, landlords and the British Raj*; Rudrangshu Mukherjee, *Awadh in revolt - 1857-58, a study of popular resistance*, Elizabeth Whitcombe, *Agrarian Conditions in northern India, the United Provinces Under British rule. 1860-1900*; M. H. Siddiqui, *Agrarian unrest in north India, the United Provinces, 1918-22* and Neena Talwar Oldenburg's *The Making of Colonial Lucknow. etc.*

None of the above mentioned works seek to view the social, political and economic developments in Awadh in their comprehensive inter-relationships. Rather they concentrate on single aspect, treating them, important as they are, as isolated themes.

The effects of British agrarian policies on the taluqdars of Awadh has been given some attention, but still seems to require a fresh analysis in the light of the larger debates on late 19<sup>th</sup>-century agrarian history. Furthermore, while the role of the taluqdars in the "Mutiny" of 1857 has been analysed by Rudrangshu Mukherjee and T.R. Metcalf, both these works have, by and large, relied on the English sources. There would be a definite advantage in the reappraisal of the problem by taking the Urdu and Persian evidence into account. The use of the Urdu material can hopefully provide useful insights into the landlords relations with the British government policies and settlement acts (e.g. the summary settlement of 1856-57), the Avadh Rent Act of 1868) on the position of the taluqdars and their responses to these policies, is so far as they facilitated the development of a

growing alliance between the two, is one major aspect that I propose to study. It has been suggested by Eric Stokes that the landlords who benefitted from government irrigation schemes and commercialisation of agriculture tended to remain loyal to the British and prospered under British rule, while those to whom these benefits were not available tended to resist British rule and lost their economic position.

In a stimulating article "Landlords and Lords the land : Estate Management Control in U. P. 1860-1920) Modern Asian studies 1972) Musgrave has analysed the formation of social groups out of dependance on the taluqdari estates such as the "Service-gentry", "religious elites", "publicists", "politicians", etc who reinforce the taluqdars authority in the villages. The dominant position of the taluqdars was not based on force alone, but enjoyed sanction and legitimacy amongst the peasants. In order to reinforce this legitimacy, the taluqdars cultivated networks of patronage for the maintenance of religious establishments, madarsas, charity institutions, etc. It were these institutions and the classes that subsisted on them who imposed ideology of subservience to the landlords upon the village peasants. Later, with the landlords becoming the "natural allies" of the British, could it be surmised that the patronage networks of the landlords came to be utilised by the British to secure legitimacy for their rule in India? The culture, ideology and value systems of the taluqdars of Awadh, the nature of their acceptability by the peasants and their usurpation by the British government obtain legitimacy are problems that have hardly been paid any attention, so far.

Another important question, that has been studied in a cursory manner is the nature of the relationship between the taluqdars and the rising national movement. True, they were loyal to the British crown, but as the nationalist movement began to erode the ideological elements of sanction for the Raj and came to gain adherents among the peasants and workers, could the taluqdars still afford to remain insensitive to the pressure of the masses?

Finally, Anil Seal's well known thesis about the crystallisation of elite groups based on traditional identities can be tested by checking the details of the history of post-annexation Awadh.

Since I have only just begun my research, I can at present only submit a preliminary bibliography, which is given in the annexure. I request that this may be treated as illustrative rather than exhaustive.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Abbreviations used

UPSA: Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow.

NAI: National Archives of India, New Delhi.

IOL: Indian office Library, London.

NMML: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

## I. Gouvernement Records

- A. The proceedings of the Board of revenue, North-Western provinces and Oudh (1856-1900), UPSA.
- B. The board of revenue district records for Faizabad, Pratapgarh, Sitapur and Rae Bareilly, UPSA.
- C. The Board of revenue, Oudh general series (1858-1916), UPSA.
- D. The proceedings of the government of the north-western provinces and Oudh (1860-1916) , UPSA.
- E. The foreign and secret consultations (1856-1916), NAI.
- F. Proceedings in the departements of public works; revenue, agriculture and commerce, revenue and agriculture (1856-1916), UPSA
- G. Records to the government of Awadh, UPSA
- H. Despatches to and from India (1856-1916), IOL.

## II. Private Collection

1. Beayne papers, IOL.
2. Bulter Papers, IOL.
3. Raye Mutiny papers, IOL.
4. Lawrence papers, IOL.
5. Moorsom papers, IOL.
6. British Indian Association papers (Oudh), NMML.
7. Sir Sita Ram papers, NAI.

## III. Gazetteers and settlement Reports

- i. Oudh court of wards reports, 1860-1900.
- ii. Oudh revenue administration reports, 1860-1915.
- iii. Reports on the revision of settlement of Baharich distirct, 1860-1872, E.G. Clark, H. Scott Boys (eds.) 1873.

- iv. Report on the settlement of the land revenue of Faizabad district; A. H. Milett (ed.) 1880
- v. Final settlement report of Gonda district; W.C. Bennett (ed.) 1878.
- vi. Report of the regular settlement of Hardoi district; E. O. Beadfort, A. H. Harrington, W. Blennerhassett (ed.) 1880.
- vii. Report of the regular settlement of kheri district; T.R. Redfern (ed.) 1880.
- viii. Report of the Land revenue settlement of Lucknow district; H.H. Butts (ed.) 1880.
- ix. Report on the settlement operations of Rae Bareilly district; J. M. Macandrew (ed.) 1880.
- x. Report on the regular settlement and revised assessment of Sitapur district; M. L. Farrar (ed) 1880.
- xi. Report on the settlement of the land revenue, Sultanpur district, A. F. Millet (ed.) 1880
- xii. Report on the revised settlement of Oonow district; W. Machochie (ed.) 1880.
- xiii. Selection from the records of government; "Correspondence relating to the indebtedness of cultivators in Oudh" (1868-69) UPSC.
- xiv. Gazetteer of the province of Oudh; (3volumes) 1877-78 (Reprint Delhi, 1985).
- xv. District gazetteers of the United provinces of Agra and Oudh compiled and edited by H. R. Nevill. Various volumes.

#### IV. Newspapers

- i. The Abhyudaya, NAI.
- ii. The Pioneer, Lucknow
- iii. The Times, NAI
- iv. The U. P. Native Press Report, NAI
- v. Karnamah (Lucknow), UPSC
- vi. Oudh Akhbar (Lucknow), UPSC.
- vii. Oudh Punch (Lucknow), UPSC
- viii. Roznamcha (Lucknow) UPSC.

#### V. Persian and Urdu Sources

- 1. Abdul Bari papers; Firangi Mahal, Lucknow.

2. Daud-e-khilafat, Haji Ahmad (Aligarh, n.d.)
3. Al-Balagh, Maulana Sulaiman Ashraf (Aligarh, n.d.)
4. Islami jhanda, Riyazuddin (Amroha, 1921)
5. Reports on the native newspapers of the North-West provinces, North-West provinces and Oudh, and the United provinces, NAI.
6. Yaadgar-i-Bahaduri (Bahadur's memorial), Bahadur Singh, Allahabad (UPSA)
7. Ibrat namah (Book of Warning), Khairuddin Muhammad Allahabadi, British Library.
8. Mirat-ul-Auza (Mirror of procedures), Lalji (1853), Raza Library (Rampur)
9. Tarikh-i-Iqtidariya (Iqtidars history) Mahdi Ali Khan, Iqtidar uddaula (1865), Andhra Pradesh state Archives.
10. Sultan ut-tawarikh (Sultan of histories), Raja Ratan Singh Zakshmi (1837). British Library. (Tagore Library, Lucknow)
11. Ruqqat-e-lakshmi Narayan, lakshmi Narayan, Lucknow: Nawal Kishore lithograph, 1882.
12. Sawanhat-e-Salatin-e-Awadh (Transactions of the sultan of Awadh), Nawal Kishore lithograph, 1879.
13. Calender of Persian Correspondence. 12 volumes, NAI.
14. Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind (The Cause of the Indian Mutiny), Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Nawal Kishore lithograph.

#### **VI. Secondary works**

1. Ahmad Ali (Mir), ed. Insha-e-suroor, Lucknow: Nawal Kishor Press 1887.
2. Ahmad Siddiq Tarikh-i-Anjuman-i-Hind, Avadh, 3 vols. Lucknow: Nawal Kishore Press 1935.
3. Baird, G.A. ed. Private letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Edinburgh : 1911
4. Barnett, R. B: North India between empires: Awadh, the Mughals and the British (1720-1801), Berkeley, 1970
5. Bhatnagar, G. D. Awadh under Wajid Ali Shah. Varanasi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1968.
6. Bordkin, E. T. "The struggle for succession, Rebels and loyalists in the Indian Mutiny of 1857" MAS 6, no. 3/1972.
7. Buckley, R. B. the Irrigation works of India and their financial results. London 1880.

8. Butler, S. Harcourt. Oudh policy, the policy of sympathy. Allahabad : Pioneer press, 1906.
9. Chand. Tej Pratap. The Administration of oudh (1858-1877) Varanasi; Vishvidyala Prakashan. 1971
10. Chaudhury, Nazeer Ahmad. The great rising of 1857 and the repression of Muslims. Punjab Record office publication, Monograph no. 22.
11. Cohen. Bernard S. "Recruitment of elites in India under British rule "In Essays in comparative social stratification, ed. Leonar Plotinov and Arthur Linden. Univ. of Pittsberg. 1977.
12. Cole, J. R. I. Roots of north Indian Scism in Iran and Iraq; religion and state in Awadh, 1722-1859. Delhi; Oxford Univ. Press. 1989.
13. Crooke, W. The North-Wesern Provinces of India, their history, entonology and administration London 1897.
14. A rural and agricultural glossary for the North-Western provinces and Oudh. Calcutta, 1888.
15. Datta. Kalidas. Reflections on the Mutiny. University of Calcutta Press, 1967.
16. Fawcett, C. the first century of British Justice in India. London, 1934.
17. Fitcett, W. H. The tale of the great Mutiny ed. London. Joh Murray, 1912.
18. Frykenberg, R. E. (ed.) Land control and social structure in Indain history Madison : univ. of Wisconsin press, 1969.
19. Gubbins, M.R. An acount of the mutinies in Oudh and th seige of the Lucknow residency, London : R. Bentley,. 1858
20. Hay, Sindey. Historic Lucknow, Lucknow 1939.
21. Habib Irfan. The Agrarian system of Mughal India, Bombay 1963
22. Hutchinson, G. Narrative of the mutinies in Oudh compiled from authentic records. London:Smith Elder and company, 1859.
23. Innes, Mc. Llyod,. Lucknow and Oudh in the mutiny. London: A. D. Innes & co. 1895
24. Lal, C. B. The Taluqdari law of Oudh Allahbad, 1910
25. Lees, W. N. Land and labour in India, London, 1867
26. Lawrence, H. M. Essays on the indian Army and Oudh. Serampore press, 1859.
27. Leyland, David. Aligarh first generation :Princeton Univ. Press, 1978

28. Macandrev, I. F. on some Revenue matters chiefly in the province of Oudh. Calucutta, 1876
29. Metcalf, T.R. The Aftermath of revolt. India 1857-1870, Princeton Univ. Press, 1964
30. Land, Landlords and the British Raj, Oxford Univ. press, 1979
31. Mc Alpin, Michelle, B. "Railroads, cultivation patterns and foodgrain availability : India 1860-1900", IESHR, Jan-March, 1972
32. Moreland, W.H. The revenue administration of the United Provinces. Allahabad, 1911.
33. Musgrave, Peter. Landlords and lords of the land: estate management and social control in Uttar Pradesh 1860-1920" MAS 6, no. 3/1972
34. Mukherjee, Rudrangshu. Awadh in revolt- 1757-1858. A study of popular resistance. Oxford Univ. Press. 1984





